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THE

# LIVES

OF THE

# SCOTISH POETS;

WITH

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATIONS,

ON THE

*LITERARY HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,*

AND THE

EARLY SCOTISH DRAMA.

By DAVID IRVING, A. M.

VOL. I.

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# CORRECTIONS.

17. l. 24. *For* Latinitatis *read* Latina.
22. 25. *For* Prince *read* Picus.
34. 5. *For* scin, *read* scin'.
68. 29. *After* Academiæ *insert* Lond. 1568, 8vo.
72. 13. *For* which *read* whom.
116. 24. Dr Robert Crichton is mentioned as a native of Scotland by Dr Richardson. (Godwin de Præsulibus Angliæ, à Richardson, p. 392. Cantab. 1743, fol.)
161. 22. *For* verily *read* very.
291. 25. and p. 317. l. 14. *For* Seymour *read* Beaufort.
426. 16. A story not materially different occurs in a book entitled "Les Recreations Françoises, ou Nouveau Recueil de Contes à Rire, pour servir de divertissement aux melancholiques, et de joyeux entretien dans le cours, les cercles, et les ruelles." *A Rouen, chés David Berthelin, dans la Cour du Palais.* 1665, 8vo. This collection consists of two parts or volumes. The compiler, who calls himself Nipe, professes to have gleaned from all the ancient and modern books of tales, and to have added new stories of his own invention, "plus capables de faire mourir de rire, que de faire dormir de bout." The particular tale to which I allude occurs in vol. i. p. 178. The unfortunate gallant is an advocate, and the pretended magician a soldier. The scene is laid in Grenada.
427. 27. *For* Παγὰν ἀνὰν φύσιως *read* Παγὰν ἀνὰν φύσιως.
434. 12. *For* devest *read* revest.
436. last. *For* Rose *read* Thistle.

A

# DISSERTATION

ON THE

# *LITERARY HISTORY*

OF

# SCOTLAND.

# A DISSERTATION ON THE *LITERARY HISTORY* OF SCOTLAND.

AFTER the decay of Greek and Roman literature, the spirit of enquiry which animated these renowned nations, was gradually diffused over regions that had long been regarded as barbarous. Of intellectual improvement however the progress is generally slow. The local circumstances of some countries retarded their advancement in liberal knowledge: their situation towards the northern extremities of Europe, or the inauspicious influence of national poverty, precluded them from an early participation of such benefits or pleasures as science and literature are capable of affording. Their distance from the

seat of the Roman government, while it secured them from invasion, tended at the same time to prolong their barbarity. The conquests of that ambitious and warlike people were sometimes productive of such happy consequences, that it may be proposed as a difficult question, whether in certain instances the progress of their arms was more fatal to political independence, or more conducive to the dissemination of useful knowledge. Scotland, it is well known, was never completely subjugated: nor did our ancestors derive any immediate advantages from Roman colonies. From a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, learning was introduced at an earlier period into England, and there nurtured with a superior degree of affection. About eighty years after the birth of Christ, a slight tincture of Roman refinement seems to have been imparted to the Britons[a]. Dr Stillingfleet supposes, that the edict of Gratian, addrest to the *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*, and enjoining the principal cities of that department to establish professors of the Greek and Latin languages, was understood as extending to the British province[b]. This circumstance however seems dubious: and it would at least be somewhat difficult to prove, that in Britain the injunctions of the edict were ever fulfilled. But to the establishment of Roman colonies, the natives of the

[a] Taciti Vita Agricolæ, § 21.

[b] Stillingfleet's Antiq. of the British Churches, p. 215.

southern division of the island were certainly indebted for the rudiments of liberal knowledge. And another circumstance which materially contributed to their improvement was the early propagation of the Christian religion.

While the island continued sunk in Paganism, the south of Britain could boast of a class of men comparatively enlightened. The Druids, says Diogenes Laertius, are reported to deliver their philosophical precepts in enigmatical terms; and to inculcate the adoration of the gods, abstinence from evil actions, and the exercise of fortitude[c]. The original seat of Druidism appears to have been the south of Britain[d]. That Druids also existed in Scotland and Ireland[e], has generally been

[c] "Καὶ φασὶ τοὺς μὲν Γυμνοσοφιστὰς καὶ Δρυΐδας αἰνιγματωδῶς ἀποφθεγγομένους φιλοσοφῆσαι, σέβειν θεοὺς, καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν δρᾶν, καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν."

Laertius de Vitis Philosophorum, p. 4.

[d] "Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur: et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illò discendi causâ proficiscuntur."

Cæsar de Bello Gallico, p. 130. edit. 8vo. Clarke.

[e] "It is more than probable," says Dr Campbell, "that Druidism was the religion of Ireland before Christianity, as tradition says it was."—— (*Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland*, p. 69. Dublin, 1789, 8vo.) It is by vague assertions of this kind, that the Irish writers have in general attempted to establish the hypothesis.

The German writers have contended with equal zeal, that the Druidic system was anciently established in Germany; and have endeavoured to evade the force of Cæsar's explicit testimony, by opposing it with that of Tacitus. Schedius understands the words of Cæsar, "neque sacrificiis student," as implying, that sacrifices were totally unknown among the Germans. (*De Diis Germanis, sive Veteri Germanorum, Gallorum, Britanno-*

treated as a self-evident proposition: and, instead of endeavouring to establish the fact, various writers have proceeded to trace its consequences[f]. For Druidic antiquities it would be in vain to search; instead of temples and other edifices, they consecrated the misletoe, and the oak on which it grew[g]. Nor can it be evinced by the testimony of early writers, that this system ever extended to either of these countries. Dr Usher indeed informs us, that a certain Irish book mentions a

*rum, Vandalorum Religione*, p. 254. Amst. 1648, 8vo.) But their genuine interpretation undoubtedly is, that among this people sacrifices were not frequent, or were not much regarded. These authors are therefore easily reconciled with each other.

Pithœus, with a degree of good sense which writers on this subject do not often display, has contented himself with remarking, that it is sufficiently evident from Cæsar, that the Germans had no Druids; and equally evident from Tacitus, that they had an order of men not very dissimilar. (P. Pithœi *Adversaria*, f. 7. b. Paris. 1565, 8vo.) It is moreover certain that when Tacitus wrote his tract *De Moribus Germanorum*, the order of Druids was totally extinct. Those who expect to meet with any evidence of their existence at so late a period, will therefore find themselves disappointed.

[f] See a fanciful dissertation written by General Vallancey, and entitled, "The Oriental Emigration of the Hibernian Druids proved from their knowledge in Astronomy, collated with that of the Indians and Chaldeans." (Ouseley's *Oriental Collections*, vol. ii.)—General Vallancey's subsequent observations on the Hibernian Druids I do not completely comprehend: "*Dairi*, a common name in Ireland; *Draoi* signifies a wise man, a conjurer, a necromancer, but has nothing to say to the Gaulic and Celtic Druid. The Draoi were never in holy orders in Ireland, which marks the difference between the Magogians and the Gomerites." (*Prospectus of a Dictionary of the Language of the Aire Coti, or Ancient Irish*. p. 32. Dublin, 1802, 4to.)

[g] "Nihil habent Druidæ, ita enim appellant suos Magos, visco et arbore in qua gignatur, si modo sit robur, sacratius."

Plinii Naturalis Historia, lib. xvi. §. 95.

certain order of men by the name of Druids[h]. This however is no incontestable evidence: for the word *druid* originally denoted a wise man[i]; and in this instance as well as in many others, might still be applied with a reference to its primitive signification. Adomnan relates, that St Columba and his followers were, on some occasion, disturbed at their devotions by the intrusion of the Pictish *Magi*[j]. The term *Magus* is of very extensive application. In various instances it may undoubtedly be found employed as a translation of the word *Druid:* but there is no necessity for concluding, that in the present instance it could not possibly have been used in any other sense.

Mr Ledwich, a writer of no ordinary acuteness or learning, has lately revived the notion, that "Druidism was professed by all the Celtic tribes, how widely soever dispersed." In support of this conjecture, no competent evidence has ever been produced. From the observations which occur in Cæsar, it appears highly probable that the system was confined to the south of Britain, and to the opposite districts of Gaul. But, in order to establish his hypothesis, Mr Ledwich finds it expedient to explode the testimony of this authentic writer. "The order and superstition of the

h "Druidas liber Hibernicus vocat, et viri sancti adventum ante triennium prædixisse narrat."

Usserii Britannic. Eccles. Antiq. p. 852.

i Pinkerton's Dissertation on the Scythians, p. 68.

j Adomnani Vita Columbæ, lib. i. cap. xxxviii. apud Pinkerton.

Druids," he observes, "are first noticed by Julius Cæsar: whoever compares his account of them with those of other Roman and Greek writers, will instantly perceive one capital omission, their worship in groves; nor do his details in general agree with those delivered by succeeding authors. Indeed he was early charged by Asinius Pollio as neither faithful or exact. It was not to be imagined that a man like Cæsar, ever pursuing great designs of ambition, and stunned by the din of arms, cared much about Druidic dogmas: or even had he leisure, what fruit could be expected from the minutest investigation, when profound secrecy shut up every avenue of information[k]?" That several ancient writers have occasionally departed from Cæsar's authority, must readily be admitted; but the question, whether these writers enjoyed equal opportunities of procuring information, will still remain undecided. The charge of omission will be found irrelevant. The practice of worshipping in sacred groves was anciently of such general prevalence[l], that in the casual view which Cæsar proposed to exhibit, this circumstance must have appeared unworthy of a conspicuous place. He has however informed us, that

[k] Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, p. 308.

[l] Rubenius, in the compass of a short chapter, has demonstrated, that the practice of worshipping in sacred groves prevailed in almost every ancient nation. (P. Rubenii *Electa*, lib. ii. cap. xxxiv. Antv. 1608, 4to.) And another learned writer remarks, that this practice derives its origin from a period long anterior to the days of Moses. (Bellenden. *De Statu Prisci Orbis*, p. 15. edit. Parr.)

the Gaulish Druids annually assembled in the territory of the Carnutes " in *luco* consecrato:" for although *loco* is the reading in the common editions, and even in that of Joseph Scaliger, yet the emendation of Casaubon is too happy to be rashly exploded[m]. If Cæsar had been altogether indifferent with respect to the system of the Druids, he would not have allowed them to interrupt the course of his narrative. Those circumstances which he thought worthy of being related, he must certainly have thought worthy of being investigated. Cæsar, it is true, was engaged in the prosecution of mighty plans; but at the same time he was capable of minute enquiry. The soldier who condescended to write a treatise on grammatical analogy[n], would probably consider the remarkable system of the Druids as entitled to a share of his attention. And it cannot rationally be supposed, that the avenues of information were more closely shut against him, than against succeeding enquirers[o].

[m] Casauboni Notæ ad Laertium, p. 1.

[n] Quintilian. de Institutione Oratoria, lib. i. cap. vii.

[o] The most effectual mode of diminishing the authority of the commentaries ascribed to Cæsar would be, to refer them to the catalogue of spurious productions. Their genuineness was actually called in question by Ludovicus Carrio: but the arguments which he suggested, have, I believe, made very few converts to his opinion. Certain MSS., it is alleged, bear the inscription, *Commentarii Julii Celsi;* and the work has been quoted as the composition of this writer by John of Salisbury, and Vincent of Beauvais. The origin of this confusion may however be easily traced to the circumstance of Celsus's having revised the commentaries, and mark-

THE introduction of the use of letters into Scotland cannot perhaps be referred to its precise æra. If we consent to believe that the Druidic system extended itself to the north of Britain, we must at the same time suppose the other event to have taken place at a very remote period of our history: for the Druids, as we learn from Cæsar,

ed his copies with this inscription: *Caii Julii Cæsaris per Jullum Celsum Commentarii.*

Lipsius has replied to the objections of Carrio in the compass of a few lines (*Epistolicæ Quæstiones*, lib. ii. epist. ii. Antv. 1577, 8vo.): but a more curious view of the subject is exhibited by M. de la Monnoye. (*Menagiana*, tom. iv. p. 80.) This last writer has also shown, that the life of Cæsar which was first ascribed by Vossius to Julius Celsus, contains internal evidence of having been composed at a period so late as the fourteenth century.

Whether Carrio had advanced this hypothesis in one of his publications, or merely in a private letter to Lipsius, I am unable to discover. It does not occur, where it might have been expected, in his *Antiquæ Lectiones*, published at Antwerp in the year 1576. He is also the author of a work entitled *Emendationes et Observationes*, Lutetiæ, 1583, 4to.; but this was published six years after the *Epistolicæ Quæstiones* of Lipsius.

Without admitting the spuriousness of the commentaries, it must certainly be acknowledged that the text is very far from being completely emended. Of its numerous corruptions at a former period, Lipsius has exprest himself in decisive terms: "Fas sit dicere. In Commentariis Cæsaris sæpe quæro Cæsarem. Multos in illam purpuram pannos insutos video: nec in dictione ipsa spirat ubique naribus meis aura illa, et, ut sic dicam, stacta puræ antiquitatis. Lege, relege. Multa otiosa reperies, disjuncta, intricata, interpolata, repetita: ut omnino non absit, quin ad hunc velùti prisci operis statuam novellà aliqua accesserit et imperita manus." (Lipsii *Electa*, lib. ii. cap. vii.) Since the days of Lipsius, Cæsar has exercised the sagacity of a numerous race of critics; but the success of their attempts does not seem to preclude the necessity of other labourers in the same field. We ought however to recollect, what both Lipsius and Carrio appear to have forgotten, that as Cæsar is known to have finished his commentaries with rapidity, the work which now bears his name might be expected to display imperfections.

were not unacquainted with the art of writing[p]. But that their system was ever established within the limits of Scotland, must not be considered as indisputable. The first alphabet which found its way into Scotland was probably the Roman: and that its introduction was coeval with that of Christianity, may be regarded as the most rational hypothesis.

Between the literary and the ecclesiastical history of a nation, an intimate connection will al-

[p] "Quum in reliquis fere rebus publicis, privatisque rationibus, *Græcis* litteris utantur." (Cæsar *De Bello Gallico*, p. 130.) Joseph Scaliger justly considered this passage as interpolated: "Quod quæris de loco Cæsaris, non solum me, sed et nobiliora ætatis nostræ ingenia exercuit, et nondum, ut puto, neque docti homines sibi, neque ego mihi satisfeci. Puto tamen Druidas tum Græcè scisse; reliquam plebem non solum Græcas, sed ne ullas quidem litteras scisse. Nam Cæsar omnino de Druidibus loquitur, cum ait eos in publicis privatisque rationibus Græcis literis usos. Sed ne id quidem placet. Nam illud *Græcis* delendum." (Scaligeri *Epistolæ*, p. 93.) Hotman has shown, that Cæsar must have written "rationibus litteris utantur." (Hotomanni *Franco-Gallia*, p. 14.) Scaliger's supposition, that the Druids were acquainted with the Greek language, seems by no means founded on probability.

In another part of his work, Cæsar has informed us, that tablets, inscribed with Greek letters, were found in the camp of the Helvetii. (*De Bello Gallico*, p. 18.) Leo Allatius and other critics contend, that these tablets must have been inscribed with Greek letters, adapted to express the articulate sounds of the Helvetian language. (Allatii *Animadversiones in Antiquitatum Etruscarum Fragmenta ab Inghiramio edita*, p. 64. Paris. 1640, 4to.) Hotman, on the other hand, supposes them to have been written, not only in Greek characters, but also in the Greek language.

Boxhornius proposes a more comprehensive hypothesis: "Græcis litteris usi sunt Galli pariter et Germani, at non acceptis a Græcis, sed Scythis, a quibus et suas Græci, Scytharum soboles, accepere. Earum Græcis similium litterarum vestigia adhuc hodie supersunt in litteratura Anglosaxonum, quos ortù Germanos esse constat. (*Origines Gallicæ*, p. 106. Amst. 1654, 4to.)

ways be found to subsist. In this feeble attempt to trace the literary history of Scotland, our attention must cursorily be directed towards the infant church.

The accounts which place the conversion of Scotland at the beginning of the third century, are evidently too fabulous to merit a serious refutation. Those who maintain the opinion seem to be chiefly influenced by the authority of some anonymous versifier quoted by Fordun:

> Christi transactis tribus annis atque ducentis,
> Scotia Catholicam cœpit inire fidem [q].

Tertullian, who flourished about this time, is supposed to afford additional evidence [r], when he observes, that those parts of Britain which the Romans had found inaccessible, were however subjected to Christ [s]. But on such authorities as these it would certainly be credulous to rely. The verses were probably fabricated by some zealous monk: and the passage quoted from Tertullian, as Richardson has shown, is evidently vague and unimportant [t]. The first authentic account of the propagation of Christianity in this part of the

[q] Fordun. Scotichronicon, vol. i. p. 72. edit. Goodall.

[r] Forbes. Instructiones Historico-Theolog. p. 159. edit. Wetstenii.—Baronius had drawn the same conclusion. (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, tom. v. p. 537.) By neglecting to distinguish Scotland from the Scotia of the ancients, this writer has been betrayed into several errors.

[s] Tertullian. adversus Judæos, cap. vii.

[t] Richardson, Prælectiones Ecclesiasticæ, vol. ii. p. 91.

island occurs in the ecclesiastical history of Beda; who informs us, that the southern Picts were converted by Ninian Bishop of Whithern[u]. This event Dr Usher refers to the year 412[v]. St Ninian has been extolled as a man of singular attainments[w]: but it may reasonably be questioned, whether he contributed in any considerable degree to disseminate useful knowledge among his converts.

Beda farther relates, that St Columba arrived from Ireland in the year 565. Before this period, a considerable number of the Picts were perhaps converted to the Christian faith; but it was not till the ministration of Columba that the king and the nobility abjured Paganism. Brudi the Second received baptism from the saint: and his subjects, we may naturally suppose, were ready to follow the example.

St Columba fixed his residence in the island of Iona, which was afterwards denominated Icolmkill. The abbots of this monastery were long regarded as primates of Pictland: and their influence even appears to have extended, in some proportion, to the churches of Ireland. The clergy who belonged to his institution, were a kind of

[u] Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, p. 106. edit. Smith.

[v] Usserii Britannic. Eccles. Antiq. p. 1094.

[w] "Ninianus Britannus, cujus fama per literas notissima omneis Britannicæ insulæ partes quas oceanus alluit, inradiat, non est, cum de illustribus agitur, temere silentio prætereundus."

LELAND. de Script. Britan. tom. i. p. 56.

irregular monks, known by the designation of Culdees[x]. These, according to some historians, were men distinguished for their learning and purity of life. It is sufficiently evident that monks of this denomination were first known in Ireland[y]: and the most learned of the Culdees who belonged to the Scotish monasteries, appear to have been natives of that island.

This saint, if we may credit his biographers, was a man of rare endowments; though the learned Mr Pinkerton has repeatedly charged him with ignorance and illiberality. "Ninian and Columba," he remarks, "were of confined minds, and of bigotted piety, strangers to secular learning, and to those enlarged ideas which prompted Ulphilas, Patrick, and in later times the apostles of Scandinavia, to impart the use of letters, as the first foundation among their converts[z]." Columba's pretensions to secular knowledge may however be considered as equally valid with those of Patrick. Ireland, it is universally admitted, was

[x] Selden's hypothesis with respect to the Culdees is sufficiently known; and, since the publication of Bishop Lloyd's judicious work, has commonly been rejected by candid enquirers. The same fanciful account of the ecclesiastical polity of ancient Scotland is exhibited in an epistle addrest by the Scotish to the Helvetic churches in the year 1640. This epistle may be found appended to a work published by William Spang; *Rerum nuper in Regno Scotiæ Gestarum Historia.* Dantisci, 1641, 8vo.

[y] For an account of the Irish Culdees and their monasteries, see Ledwich's *Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, 1790, 4to. and Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, Dublin, 1786, 4to.

[z] Pinkerton's Enquiry into the Hist. of Scotl. vol. ii. p. 277.

once a distinguished nursery of learning: but the literary obligations of that country to the pious labours of St Patrick need not be registered as very important. That such a man ever existed, Mr Ledwich has shown to be extremely dubious. Leland, Pitts, and other English biographers, have claimed him as their countryman[a]; while the Scotish writers have generally represented him as a native of North Britain. A collection of Latin tracts ascribed to this imaginary Scotish author and saint, has been published by Sir James Ware[b]: and frequent discussions have taken place with regard to their genuineness. Any future investigation of the subject ought to commence with an attempt to ascertain, whether the reputed writer be a real or a supposititious personage. If St Patrick never existed, it requires no extraordinary sagacity to discover, that he never wrote any epistles or canons. The Romish calender, as Dr

[a] Leland. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, tom. i. p. 36.
Pitseus de Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 90.

[b] S. Patricio, qui Hibernos ad fidem Christi convertit, adscripta Opuscula: quorum aliqua nunc primùm, ex antiquis MSS. codicibus, in lucem emissa sunt, reliqua recognita: omnia Notis ad rem historicam et antiquariam spectantibus illustrata: operâ et studio Jacobi Waræi, Equ. Aurati. Lond. 1656, 8vo.

The life of St Patrick has been written by a prodigious number of authors. Stanihurst, an Irish scholar of considerable reputation, is perhaps the most elegant of his biographers. (Richardus Stanihurstus *De Vita S. Patricii, Hiberniæ Apostoli.* Antverp. 1587, 8vo.) At a later period, Dr William Thyer, a native of Cork, wrote *Discursus Panegyrici de Nominibus, Tribulationibus, et Miraculis S. Patricii.* Duaci, 1617, 8vo. Both these works are as fabulous as might be expected.

Middleton remarks, is amply replenished with fictitious saints[c]: and Patrick, with reverence be it spoken, seems fairly entitled to a place among their number.

The life of St Columba, the Apostle of the Picts, has been written by various authors; and, among others, by Cumin and Adomnan, natives of Ireland, and Abbots of Iona[d]. These biographers seem to have regarded him as but one degree inferior to our Saviour himself. That, towards the close of the eighteenth century, any scholar should, even for a single moment, have lent a credulous ear to their monkish tales, may be viewed as a kind of phænomenon in the history of literature. Dr Smith, a man not unlettered, speaks in the following terms: "In circumstances such as those in which Columba stood, called forth to extirpate an old and inveterate superstition, and to establish the true religion upon its ruins, to surmount the prejudices of a barbarous people, and to contend with powerful and artful priests, we cannot, without presumption, say how far it might be fit that God should countenance the labours of his faithful servants, and vouchsafe

[c] Middleton's Letter from Rome, p. 171.

[d] These productions of Cumin and Adomnan have lately been republished in Mr Pinkerton's curious collection of biography, "Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniæ nunc vocata Scotia vel in ejus Insulis. Quasdam edidit ex MSS. quasdam collegit JOHANNES PINKERTON, qui et Variantes Lectiones et Notas pauculas adjecit." Lond. 1789, 8vo.

him even by signs and wonders, as he often did to his ministers in such cases, a clear and decided victory[e]." But, without presumption, we may certainly affirm, that there is no very satisfactory evidence of any miracle having been performed since the age of the apostles[f]. Dr Smith's unaffected zeal for the propagation of Christianity ought however to defend him from petulant criticism: without approving of every method which he has pursued, we may at least revere the purity of his intentions.

Scotland, after its conversion, is said to have made rapid advances in every branch of knowledge: but it is more than probable, that a large portion of the praise bestowed on this country is due to Ireland. Among other eminent Scotishmen who are said to have flourished during the early ages, our historians have unanimously class-

[e] Smith's Life of St Columba, p. 3. Edinb. 1798, 8vo.

[f] Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and other eminent English divines of that period were of opinion, that if a pious Christian should undertake the conversion of Heathen nations, he would most probably be endowed with the gift of tongues, and the power of working miracles.—"I think it still very credible, that if persons of sincere minds did go to preach the pure Christian religion, free from those errors and superstitions which have crept into it, to infidel nations, that God would still enable such persons to work miracles, without which there would be little or no probability of success."

TILLOTSON'S Sermons, vol. x. p. 445.

It was still the general opinion even of Protestants, that a miraculous power continued for several ages to reside in the Christian church. The service which Dr Middleton, by the publication of his *Free Inquiry*, rendered to the cause of solid learning, entitles him to grateful remembrance.

ed Johannes Scotus Erigena. But, on the other hand, the English and the Irish writers have with equal zeal preferred the claims of their respective countries. The arguments of each party chiefly consist of etymological strictures on his name. Dempster contends, that Erigena signifies a native of Ayr[g]: but he ought previously to have enquired, whether this Scotish town was founded so early as the ninth century. Ware and Ledwich have with higher probability represented him as an Irishman[h]. He is commonly designated *Scotus*, that is, a native of *Scotia* or Ireland: for it was not till the eleventh century, that the name of Scotland was applied to the country by which it is now exclusively retained[i].

[g] Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, p. 42. Bononiæ, 1627, 4to.

[h] A folio edition of Erigena *De Divisione Naturæ* was published at Oxford so lately as the year 1681. Specimens of his prose and verse may be found in Usher's *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*. Dublin. 1632, 4to. The following MSS. are mentioned by Philip Labbe: "Joannis Scoti Expositio in Martianum Capellam;" "Disputatio Abbatis Theodori Græci cum Joanne Scoto." (*Nova Bibliotheca MSS. Librorum*, p. 45. 90. Paris. 1653, 4to.)

Erigena was formerly denominated *Gloria Græcorum*, or the Glory of the Greeks; an appellation to which, in the opinion of Montfaucon, he was not sufficiently entitled. (*Palæographia Græca*, p. 42.) His translations from Dionysius Areopagita are however commended by an excellent critic: "Johannis Erigenæ, in exponendo Dionysio, industriam pauci omnino adæquarunt: studet ille sententiis, assectatur verba, ordinem tenet: nec pro ætate illa barbarus est tamen, vel indisertus." (Huetius *De Interpretatione*, p. 154.)

[i] Usserii Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, p. 734. Dublin. 1639, 4to.

To support the honour of Scotland, many other eminent names have been pilfered. Ailred, Sedulius, Rabanus Maurus, and Claudius Clemens, if we may credit various of our writers, were all natives of one country; and that country is Scotland. Yet to an unprejudiced enquirer it will perhaps appear sufficiently evident, that the first was an Englishman, the second an Irishman, the third a German[j], and the fourth a Spaniard. Of the name of Sedulius, however, there were two different writers; whom Archbishop Usher, departing from his wonted accuracy, has confounded with each other[k]. The more ancient of these, according to Sirmond, died about the year 430[l]; whereas the other, in the opinion of Father Simon, cannot have flourished at a period much earlier than the ninth century[m]. The former produced two works which bear the same title of *Opus Paschale;* the one in verse, the other in prose. The latter is the author of a *Collectaneum in omnes S. Pauli Epistolas*[n]. The younger Sedulius, who is styled a presbyter, appears to have been a native of Ireland: but the country of the other, we may

j Fabricii Bibliotheca Latinitatis Mediæ et Infimæ Ætatis, tom. vi. p. 25. edit. Patavii.

k Usserii Britannic. Eccles. Antiq. p. 771.

l Sirmondi Notæ in Ennodium, p. 7.

m Simon, Histoire Critique des Principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament, p. 334. b.

n All these productions may be found in the sixth volume of the *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum.* Lugd. 1677, 27. tom. fol.

venture to assert, has never been completely ascertained. Philip Labbe, whose dissertation *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis Bellarmini* I unfortunately have not been able to procure, has demonstrated, to the satisfaction of Bayle and Simon, that the claims of the Irish are irrelevant. Those of the Scotish must be abandoned as still less valid[o].

The most ancient author who can with apparent justice be claimed as a native of Scotland, is Richard, Prior of St Victor at Paris; a celebrated theologian who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. That he was born in Scotland, is without hesitation affirmed by the author of the biographical sketch prefixed to an edition of his works, published by the Canons Regular of the monastery over which he had presided[p]. His compositions are numerous, and display vestiges of profound scholastic knowledge. Mair pro-

[o] The poetical merit of Sedulius has always been regarded as very considerable. Of his *Poemata Sacra* an octavo edition, corrected from a MS. in the Advocates Library, was published at Edinburgh in 1701, by John Forrest, a student in the university. To the numerous testimonies of authors produced by this editor, it may not here be improper to add that of Barthius, a critic of stupendous erudition: "Inter Christianos poetas Virgilianam phrasin nemo magis comiter servavit, quoad ejus per rerum alienitatem, seculique alterationem fieri potuit, quam Sedulius, optimi ingenii inter eorum plerosque, licet nævos etiam habeat, non tam quidem suos quam seculi." (Barthii *Adversaria*, tom. i. col. 475.)

[p] M. Richardi S. Victoris Parisiensis Doctoris Præclarissimi Opera. Rothomagi, 1650, 2 tom. fol.—His works had also been printed at Paris in 1518 and in 1540, at Venice in 1592, and at Cologne in 1621.

nounces him equal to the greatest theologians of the age in which he lived; and particularly observes, that he was the first who maintained the Blessed Virgin to be free from original sin[q]. Bellarmin, another competent judge, extols him as a pious, learned, and acute writer[r]. Theophilus Spizelius, who frequently quotes from his works, regards him as one of the principal ornaments of the dark ages[s].

Adam, a Canon Regular of the Order of Premonstratenses, died about the year 1180. Richard of St Victor died in the year 1173. The former of these writers is frequently mentioned in literary history by the name of *Adamus, Scotus*. Some of his works, which relate to theology, are still preserved; collections of them having been published at Paris and Antwerp[t].

John Holybush, a renowned philosopher and mathematician who flourished about the year 1230, is represented by Dempster as a native of Scotland; by Leland as a native of England; by Stanihurst as a native of Ireland. The claims of the three countries, in this as well as in other in-

[q] Major de Gestis Scotorum, p. 114. edit. Edinb. 1740, 4to.

[r] "Hæc omnia opera, uno excepto, quod inscribitur Exceptionum libri quatuor, videntur mihi docta, et pia, et dignissima ingenio acutissimo Richardi; neque scio de eis ab ullo esse dubitatum, an sint Richardi opera. De libris Exceptionum nonnihil ambigo, an sint ejusdem auctoris."

BELLARMIN. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, p. 231.

[s] Spizelius de Vitiis Literatorum, p. 1095.

[t] Caye, Historia Literaria, p. 679.

stances, it will be no easy task to estimate. Elias Vinetus merely informs us, that he was born in the island of England, anciently called Albion and Britain[u]. These expressions must undoubtedly be understood as denoting the kingdoms of Scotland and England. Leland supposes him a native of England, because he has discovered, that his Latin name Joannes de Sacrobosco must signify John of Halifax[v]: and this reason appears completely satisfactory to Camden and various other authors[w]. Sir James Ware, a more impartial judge, exposes the futility of the etymology[x]. Dempster avers, that Joannes de Sacrobosco clearly suggests John Holybush, a name not unknown in Scotland[y]: and in one of the learned works of Vives he is denominated Sacer*buschius*[z]; a circumstance which seems to add some degree of probability to the assertion. But this is a controversy which I do not presume to decide.

Holybush is the author of various works which

[u] "Joanni de Sacrobosco," says Vinetus, "patria fuit quæ nunc Anglia insula, olim Albion et Brettania appellata. Lutetiæ literas et philosophiam didicit, doctorque Parisiensis fuit. Scripsit de sphæra mundi, de astrolabo, de algorithmo, (supputandi artem ita vocarunt barbari) de quincta essentia, et de computo ecclesiastico." *(De J. de Sacrobosco).* To this catalogue Pitts has added several other works. *(De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*, p. 334. Paris. 1619, 4to.)

[v] Leland. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, tom. ii. p. 353.

[w] Camdeni Britannia, p. 614.

[x] Waræus de Scriptoribus Hiberniæ, p. 59. Dublin. 1639, 4to.

[y] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 578.

[z] Vives de Tradendis Disciplinis, p. 312.

formerly procured him an uncommon reputation in the schools. Some of these have frequently been printed. His famous tract *De Sphæra* was edited by Vinetus; his *Computus Ecclesiasticus* by Melanchthon.

Michael Scot, a man celebrated for his profound and extensive learning, also flourished during the thirteenth century. That he was a native of Scotland, has never been disputed till the days of Leland. On the authority of certain nameless individuals, this biographer would persuade us to believe, that Scot was born in the county of Durham[a]. The character of such credible witnesses it certainly would be ungenerous to impeach: but as more than two hundred years elapsed between the birth of Scot and that of Leland, we may at least be permitted to express our surprize at the accuracy of their recollection.

Scot is said to have studied at Oxford and Paris, and to have attained to wonderful proficiency in philology, mathematics, natural philosophy, and theology. He appears to have translated several Greek books into Latin; and the service which he thus rendered to the cause of learning, is commemorated, as Leland informs us, in Roger Bacon's unpublished treatise *De Linguarum Utili-*

[a] "Nam à fide dignis didici eum in Dunolmensi ditione genitum et ortum fuisse, et prima in literis incrementa Dunolmi imbibisse."

LELAND. de Script. Britan. tom. i. p. 254.

*tate.* His version of Aristotle's history of animals is preserved in manuscript in the National Library at Paris[b]. His knowledge of what is termed natural magic procured him, among the vulgar, the appellation of an enchanter: and in this light he is also represented by Dante and Theophilo Folengio. From the charge of sorcery he was vindicated, when such a vindication might still be necessary, by the learning of Gabriel Naudé[c].

His principal work, entitled *De Secretis Naturæ*, is a treatise on the procreation and physiognomy of the human species. It is inscribed to his patron, Frederick Emperor of the Romans. His dedication concludes with the following complacent sentence: "Finally, if thou art solicitous to become acquainted with the manners of men, and the nature of domestic animals, read Michael Scot." Those however who peruse his work with such an expectation, will probably experience considerable disappointment: it is indeed extremely curious, but does not seem to display much superiority of intellect. The reputation which he formerly enjoyed, may be suspected of having somewhat exceeded his intrinsic desert. The renowned Prince of Mirandula appears to have viewed him with no high degree of admiration[d].

b Notices des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque Nationale, tom. vi. p. 387.

c Naudé, Apologie pour tous les Grands Personnages qui ont esté fausement soupçonnez de Magie, p. 495.

d "Crevit autem per ea tempora studium mathematicæ, sicut totius

This production of Scot was frequently printed[e]. The second part would seem to have been edited in a separate form; for Michael Scot *De Physiognomia* is mentioned by Conrad Gesner as having been published at Venice in the year 1503[f].

John Duns, the Subtle Doctor, flourished about the year 1300. He is claimed by the English as well as by the Irish. He is styled an Englishman, if we may credit Henry Wharton, in certain copies of his works transcribed not long posterior to his own age[g]. The copies to which the writer alludes, are undoubtedly the same with those mentioned by Leland. The date of the transcript Leland has past over in total silence; and Wharton does not pretend, that the MSS. were ever inspected by himself. In the library of Merton College, Oxford, says Leland, are several copies which contain the following colophon: "Expli-

quoque philosophiæ disciplinarum omnium in Hispania, in quo cum regnaret Alphonsus, in numeris mathematicis et cœlestium motuum supputatione diligentissimus; amaret quoque divinatricem vanitatem, alioquin philosophiæ studiis non imbutus; et in ejus gratiam Arabum et Græcorum multa ejus artis monumenta ad nos pervenerunt, per Joannem præsertim Hispalensem et Michaelem Scotum scriptorem nullius ponderis, multæ verò superstitionis."

J. P. Mirandulæ Disputationes in Astrologiam, lib. xii. c. vii.

[e] The edition which I use, is printed with Albertus Magnus *De Secretis Mulierum*, &c. Amst. 1665, 12mo. I have seen another edition of the same kind, published at Strasburg in decimo sexto in the year 1615.—Scot's *Quæstio Curiosa de Natura Solis et Lunæ* occurs in Zetzner's *Theatrum Chymicum*, tom. v. p. 753.

[f] Gesneri Bibliotheca Universalis, f. 513. a. Tiguri, 1545, fol.

[g] Wharton, Append. ad Hist. Literar. Cave, p. 2.

cit lectura Doctoris Subtilis in Universitate Oxon. super libros Sentent. scilicet Doctoris Joannis Duns, nati in quadam villula de Emildun, vocata Dunstane, in comitatu Northumbriæ, pertinente domui scholasticorum de Merton Haule in Oxonia, et quondam dictæ domûs socii[h]." This inscription is probably the fabrication of some illiterate scribe: and if Leland regarded such an authority as paramount to all others, his notions respecting the laws of evidence must have been extremely defective. "It may be probably supposed," says Archbishop Spotswood, "that he living at Oxford in England when the wars were so hot betwixt the two kingdoms, did dissemble his country, and pretend himself to be an English born, to eschew the hatred of the students. In Colen, where he might without danger shew of what country he was, he did profess himself a Scot, and the Minorites (of which order he was) did therefore upon his tomb, erected in their church, at the end of the quire nigh unto the high altar, set this inscription, which is there yet to be seen:

> Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,
> Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet[i]."

Wharton affirms, that all the writers who flourished before the sixteenth century, have consi-

[h] Leland. de Script. Britan. tom. ii. p. 317.
[i] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotl. p. 54.

dered Duns as an Englishman; but the only writer whom he particularizes is Bartholomæus Albicius. The assertion may be regarded as rash and unfounded. Duns is pronounced a Scotishman by Trithemius, whose biographical work was finished in the year 1492[j]. And a more extensive research would probably enable us to add other names. Of the later writers who have investigated the subject, a great majority will be found to have decided in favour of Scotland. Paulus Jovius informs us, on the authority perhaps of some early writer, that Duns was born within the limits of the Caledonian forest[k]. That he was a native of Scotland, is also the decided opinion of Bellarmin, Labbe, Possevin[l], Sixtus Senensis[m], and, in fine, of almost every author unbiassed by national prejudice. Paganinus Gaudentius, Professor of Eloquence in the University of Pisa, and author of the work *De Philosophiæ apud Romanos Initio et Progressu*, maintains the same opinion in one of his epigrams:

j Trithemius de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, f. 76. a. Basil. 1494, fol.—This edition, which is beautifully printed, is apparently the first. The work has frequently been republished. It is inserted, together with the similar productions of St Jerom, Gennadius, Sigebertus, Isidorus Hispalensis, and other writers, in the curious collection of Fabricius, entitled *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*. Hamb. 1718, fol.

k Jovii Elogia Virorum Literis Illustrium, p. 9.

l Possevini Apparatus Sacer, tom. i. p. 868.

m Sixti Senensis Bibliotheca Sancta, p. 269.

Non Scotos a tenebris, sed Scotus nomine dictus
A populo, extremum qui colit oceanum,
Duns a stirpe sua claro cognomine gaudens
In patrio renuit consenuisse solo.
Parisios venit, Nerei cis salsa fluenta,
Dulcibus ut Sophiæ se recrearet aquis,
Illius ingenium cryptas penetravit opertas,
Et verum abstrusis eruit e tenebris.
Jam Scoton a tenebris lubet appellare, nigrantes
Nam victor nebulas dispulit a Sophia[n].

Erasmus, it must be owned, has supposed Duns to be a native of England. But Erasmus entertained a partiality for the English nation: and the epistle in which he advances this opinion is addrest to an Englishman, whom he is willing to congratulate on his compatriotism with the philosopher[o].

Joseph Scaliger pronounces him a native of Ireland: and this opinion is at least more tenable than the other. The argument however which he adduces will as readily demonstrate him to have been a native of Scotland as of Ireland. Duns, he remarks, was not of Scotland, but of Ireland: the French call the Irish *Scots*[p]. But the French must have called the British Scots by the same

[n] Gaudentii Obstetrix Literaria, sive de Componendis et Evulgandis Libris Dissertationes: ejusdem Epigrammata Nova, p. 178. Florent. 1638, 4to.

[o] Erasmi Epistolæ, col. 378. edit. Lond. 1642, fol.

[p] "Il n'estoit point Escossois, mais d'Irlande: les Francois appellent les Irlandois *Escossois*."

SCALIGERANA, p. 235.

name. The name of Scotland has not been traced in any writer who flourished before the third century[q]. At first it was exclusively applied to the country now called Ireland: but after the descendents of the Irish had established themselves in the north of Britain, they still retained their former appellation; although the name of Scotland continued to be appropriated by Ireland till about the tenth century. The modern name being then introduced, that island gradually lost its ancient designation.

Wadding and other Irish writers who claim him as their countryman, persuade themselves, that he was born at Down, *Dunum*, and must thence have derived his name of Duns[r]. This however is a mere reverie. When the Scotish affirm, that he was born at Dunse, they are at least supported by a more ancient tradition.

Dempster has asserted the claims of Scotland by twelve arguments[s]; but a less formidable number might perhaps have been sufficient. The designation *Scotus*, which is commonly added to his name, evinces him to have been a native either of Scotland or of Ireland: and the pretensions of the latter country cannot be supported by the authority of a single early writer.

[q] Usserii Britannic. Eccles. Antiq. p. 728.

[r] Wadding. Scriptores Ordinis Minorum, p: 201. a. Romæ, 1650, fol

[s] Dempster. Asserti Scotiæ Cives esse sui; S. Bonifacius, rationibus ix. Joannes Duns, rationibus xii. Bononiæ, 1621, 4to.

The genius of this renowned schoolman reflects no inconsiderable lustre on the nation to which he belonged. He maintained a reputation almost unrivalled till the scholastic theology and scholastic philosophy were finally exploded. So lately as the seventeenth century, academical orations in commemoration of his admirable talents appear to have been frequently pronounced[t]. An edition of his works, accompanied with a life of the author by Luke Wadding, was published in twelve folio volumes. His general character as a metaphysician may be sought in the great store-house of Brucker[u].

Francis Mayron, a celebrated schoolman known by the appellation of the Acute Doctor, is represented by Lambecius, Bellarmin, Quenstedt, and other authors, as a native of Scotland[v]. With respect to his country, Trithemius, Miræus, Possevin, and Sixtus Senensis, are totally silent. According to Labbe, Du Pin[w], and Wadding[x], he was a native of Digne in Provence: and this opi-

[t] See, for example, Matthæi Veglensis Oratio in Joannem Dunsium Scotum Doctorem Subtilem, declamata in Universitate Patavina die tertiâ Novembris 1634. Patavii, 1634, 4to.

A portrait of Duns is said to have been in the possession of Sir Andrew Balfour. (Sibbaldi *Memoria Balfouriana*, p. 63.)

[u] Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philosophiæ, vol. iii. p. 826.

[v] Lambecii Prodromus Historiæ Literariæ, p. 273. edit. Fabricii. Bellarminus de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, p. 268. Quenstedt de Patriis Illustrium Doctrinâ et Scriptis Virorum, p. 100. Wittebergæ, 1654, 4to.

[w] Du Pin, Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles. tom. xi. p. 70.

[x] Wadding. Scriptores Ord. Minor. p. 123. b.

nion may perhaps be considered as more plausible than the other. No writer whom I have consulted, has however assigned any reason for supposing him to have belonged to either of the two countries.

He is reported to have studied under the Subtle Doctor; and, in the year 1315, to have instituted what was termed the Sorbonic Act in the University of Paris[y]. His works, consisting of commentaries on Lombard, quodlibets, formalities, and other productions of the same nature, have been transmitted to posterity.

John Bassol, another of the very eminent scholars of Duns, flourished in the year 1322. He is honourably distinguished among the schoolmen by the designation of *Doctor Ordinatissimus*, or the most Methodical Doctor. His *Lectura in quatuor libros Sententiarum* was printed at Paris in 1517.

John Suisset, commonly denominated the Calculator, flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century. He is considered as a Scotishman by Vossius[z], Quenstedt[a], and other foreign critics. That Leland, Bale, and Pitts should entertain a different opinion, is a necessary consequence of their voracious system. Twyne, who represents him as a distinguished ornament of the

[y] Miræi Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica, p. 267.

[z] Vossius de Scientiis Mathematicis, p. 78.

[a] Quenstedt de Patriis Illustrium Virorum, p. 101.

University of Oxford, does not however venture to claim him as his countryman[b]. Scaliger and Cardan, who have bestowed such high encomiums on his genius, are silent with regard to the rival claims of Scotland and England. The testimony of his editor Trincavellus, who styles him an Englishman, is apparently of little moment: for in the title-page of the volume he names him Richard, and in the colophon, Raymund; though the Christian name assigned to Suisset by more critical writers is neither Richard nor Raymund, but John. He is however named Roger by Vives and Gesner. These two authors, it must not be dissembled, have ascribed the honour of his birth to England: but as the plan of their respective works did not require any critical investigation of the subject, their decision is of trivial consequence. Joannes Ludovicus Vives, a learned Spaniard, professed rhetoric in the College of Corpus Christi at Oxford; and, from the English scholars, might easily receive a false impression with respect to the history of Suisset, an author in whose productions he appears to have been little interested[c]. The passage in Gesner is professedly a mere transcript of that which occurs in

[b] Twyni Antiquitat. Acad. Oxon. Apologia, p. 342.

[c] "Invectæ sunt cavillationes stultarum subtilitatum, quas ipsi calculationes vocant, quibus maximum dedit incrementum Rugerus Suicetus Anglus."

Vives de Causis Corruptarum Artium, p. 171.

Vives[d]. That Suisset was a native of Scotland, I do not however decisively affirm.

His *Calculationes* were formerly viewed with such admiration, that, in the opinion of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, the author almost exceeded the limits of human genius[e]. It was from an acquaintance with the speculations of Duns and Suisset, that Cardan was led to consider the Britons as not inferior in intellectual endowments to his countrymen the Italians[f].

These are the principal Scotish philosophers

d Gesneri Bibliotheca Universalis, f. 588. a.

e "Qui Aristoteli fabrum antetulisti, non minus illis ipsis artibus erudito; et Joanni Duns Scoto, qui fuit lima veritatis; et Joanni Suisset calculatori, qui penè modum excessit ingenii humani."

SCALIGER de Subtilitate ad Cardanum, f. 434. b.

f "Ejusdem insulæ accola fuit Joannes, ut dixi, Suisset cognomento Calculator: in cujus solius unius argumenti solutione, quod contra experimentum est, de actione mutua, tota laboravit posteritas: quem senem admodum, nec inventa sua dum legeret intelligentem, flevisse referunt. Ex quo haud dubium esse reor, quod etiam in libro de animi immortalitate scripsi, barbaros ingenio nobis haud esse inferiores; quandoquidem sub Brumæ coelo divisa toto orbe Britannia duos tam clari ingenii viros emiserit."

CARDANUS de Subtilitate, p. 470.

Naudé has remarked, that notwithstanding the encomiums which had been pronounced on Suisset, his works were not to be found in any of the famous libraries. (*Avis pour dresser une Bibliotheque*, p. 86.) In the British Museum however I have seen a beautiful old volume with the following title: "Calculator. Subtilissimi Ricardi Suiseth Anglici Calculationes noviter emendate atque revise. Questio insuper de Reactione juxta Aristotelis Sententiam, et Commentatoris." Venet. 1520, fol. Suisset's calculations have this colophon: "Explicit Calculationum opus aureum Magistri Raymundi Suiseth Anglici viri in hac facultate eminentissimi atque acutissimi: nuper diligenti examine emendatum ab excellenti Doctore Domino Victore Trinchavello Veneto."

and theologians who preceded John Mair, an illustrious doctor who flourished during the earlier part of the sixteenth century. Of all the theologians, says Du Pin, who had hitherto written commentaries on the Book of Sentences, no one will be found to have equalled the copiousness and erudition of Mair[g].

Scotland undoubtedly produced her full proportion of scholastic philosophers: and many other names, not indeed of equal celebrity, might easily be added to the preceding catalogue. Although the schoolmen cannot be enrolled among those who have extended the boundaries of true science, it is yet of importance to have ascertained, with some degree of precision, the rank which our lettered countrymen anciently maintained among other competitors in the same field. The schoolmen, says Lord Bacon, "having sharpe and strong wits, and aboundance of leasure, and small variety of reading; but their wits being shut up in the cels of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle, their dictator) as their persons were shut up in the cels of monasteries and colledges, and knowing little history, either of nature or time; did out of no great quantity of matter, and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of

[g] Du Pin, Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, tom. xiii. p. 160.—Mair is also mentioned by Launoi, another learned writer, in terms of high commendation: "In philosophia et in scholastica theologia maximus apud Parisienses doctor fuit." (*Regii Navarræ Gymnasii Parisiensis Historia*, tom. ii. p. 652.)

learning which are extant in their bookes. For the wit and mind of man, if it worke upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuffe, and is limited thereby; but if it worke upon it selfe, as the spider worketh his webbe, then it is endlesse, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the finenesse of thread and worke, but of no substance or profit[h]."

Of the scholastic productions of these ancient Scotish authors, no very adequate notion could perhaps be formed by the inspection of detached specimens. In order to exemplify the literary taste of our ancestors, I shall therefore have recourse to the poetical department.

The following ode is said to have been composed soon after the death of Wallace, the first of Scotish heroes:

Invida Mors tristi Gulielmum funere Vallam,
Quæ cuncta tollit, sustulit:
Et tanto pro cive, cinis; pro finibus urna est;
Frigusque pro lorica obit.
Ille quidem terras, loca se inferiora, reliquit:
At fata factis supprimens,
Parte sui meliore solum cœlumque pererrat,
Hoc spiritu, illud gloriâ.

[h] Bacon of the Advancement of Learning, p. 38.

At tibi si inscriptum generoso pectus honesto
Fuisset, hostis proditi
Artibus, Angle, tuis, in pœnas parcior îsses,
Nec oppidatim spargeres
Membra viri sacranda adytis. Sed scin, quid in ista
Immanitate viceris?
Ut Vallæ in cunctas oras spargantur et horas
Laudes, tuumque dedecus.

These beautiful lines are appended to some editions of Henry the Minstrel. "The author," says Hume, "is uncertain, and the more is the pity, for he deserves to have been better known[1]." Wallace was murdered in the year 1305. That this ode was composed at so remote a period, may be considered as highly improbable. If indeed we may credit Dempster and his followers, Scotland had already produced many writers remarkable for their polished Latinity. An excellent poet named Quintin is said to have flourished during the unhappy times of Bruce and Baliol; and to have composed an elegant work entitled *Querela de Patriæ Miseria.* This elegant poem, we are informed, was published at Paris in the year 1511[1]. Dempster's library, as Mr Pinkerton shrewdly remarks, must have resembled that of Gargantua, for most of his books have vanished.

Thomas Barry, Provost of Bothwell, composed

1 Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, p. 22.

1 Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 545.
Tanneri Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 610. Lond. 1748, fol.

a Latin poem on the battle of Otterburn, fought in the year 1388. His verses are of the Leonine kind, and sufficiently barbarous. The prologue is as follows:

Musa, refer fatum præscriptum carmine vatum,
Principians gratum frangere sorte statum.
Temporibus primis, probiorum corpora limis
Condebant imis prælia dura nimis.
Sed lacrymor ludens, nova bellica carmina cudens,
Mixtim concludens, metrificare studens.
Schismata regnorum lacrymalia belligerorum
Deflens binorum, cano carmina mixta dolorum.

Insula jam Britonum duo continet optima regna,
Pacis quodque bonum quibus exulat arte malignâ,
Ex omni parte sunt corpora diruta Marte.
Hîc pax vi cartæ non fit, nec qualibet arte:
Hîc pereunt gentes: hîc succubuere potentes:
Hîc cives flentes plangunt, et rure manentes:
Hîc sunt algentes brumali tempore dentes:
Concutiunt mentes, trepidant sine fine dolentes.
Hîc pater et natus simul occidit ense necatus.
Iste cruentatus ruit, hic perit incineratus:
Isteque prædatus, hic exulat, hic spoliatus:
Alter ditatus: luget alter pulvere stratus.
Anglos Scotigenæ gladiorum cuspide frangunt:
Scotos Angligenæ flammarum caumate tangunt.
Quid facio? taceo: mala tot per regna diescunt.
Me quatio; ratio perit. Heu! guerræ juvenescunt.
Gentes gaudentes victrices glorificantur,
Flentes, plangentes, devicti suppeditantur.
Quos angit, frangit illos nova guerra patenter:
Hos tangit, plangit, bellum campestre recenter.

Ottirburnense bellum novitate recense.
Augusti mense gens plurima corruit ense.
Vates linguosi, trutinantes carmine fata,
Quæ cano bella data, darent esse fabulosa.
Quinta dies mensis, fuerat quæ Mercurialis,
Agminibus densis mors imperat exitialis.
Annis millenis, centum quater, hinc duodenis
Exceptis, plenis miscentur gaudia threnis.

The concluding verses may be produced as a farther specimen:

O Deus! istarum miserere potens animarum,
Hic defunctarum recolens certamen amarum.
Passio mortalis pro libertate realis,
Sempiternalis sit plena remissio talis.
O rex! cunctorum qui præmia das meritorum,
Prælia regnorum fac pacificare duorum,
Et mala comprime, bellaque destrue, jurgia dirime, pax dominetur;
Divina potentia regna per omnia tempora singula sanctificetur.
Climatis ast actor sit pacis climatis auctor:
Nam pacis factor colitur, pacis quoque fautor.
Rex æternorum, pessundato sævum:
Gloria victorum nullum moritura per ævum[k].

Bower, who has preserved this metrical work entire, pronounces it excellent. Mair, who was born about sixty years later, represents it as a composition devoid of merit. These opposite decisions illustrate the gradual progress of taste.

The Scotish language was in the mean time cul-

k Bower. Scotichronicon, lib. xiv. cap. liv.

tivated with considerable assiduity. The most ancient specimen of it is a poem of eight lines composed on the death of Alexander the Third:

Quhen Alysandyr oure kyng wes dede,
That Scotland led in luwe and le,
Away wes sons of ale and brede,
Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle:
Oure gold wes changyd in-to lede.
Cryst, borne in-to virgynyté,
Succour Scotland and remede,
That stad is in perplexyté[1].

Alexander died an accidental death in the year 1285. That these precious lines are nearly of the same date is affirmed by Winton, in whose chronicle they are most fortunately preserved. The orthography must however have been subjected to material alterations.

Cotemporary with this king was Thomas Lermont; who has been ranked as the most ancient of our poets. Barbour followed at the distance of nearly a century. Winton flourished about the year 1420. The language of these poets bears a pretty exact resemblance to that of their English cotemporaries. The causes which have contributed to produce this resemblance, various authors have attempted to trace: and the subject affords much scope for curious investigation. But as the controversy has been left undecided by many able

1 Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. i. p. 401.

writers, it cannot be expected that the present attempt should draw it to a conclusion.

That the Scotish language is merely a dialect of the English, is an opinion which has frequently been proposed as the most rational. Before the reign of Malcolm the Third, it is asserted, the universal language of Scotland was the Gaëlic. But if the Picts were a Gothic race, and many strong arguments might certainly be advanced in support of this opinion, it follows as a necessary consequence, that their language was very different from that of the Celtic inhabitants.

Dr Geddes, in a *Dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon Dialect*, has enforced the current opinion with his usual acuteness and learning. "The names," he remarks, "of all the rivers, mountains, towns, villages, and castles, of any note or antiquity, from Berwick-law to Buchanness, and from Buchanness to Arder-Sier, are all evidently Celtic. We must then either suppose that the language of the Picts was a dialect of the Celtic; or that they were not the original inhabitants of the country; or, in fine, that, after the extinction of the Pictish empire, or rather its union with that of the Irish-Scots, the language of these latter universally prevailed, and effaced the very remembrance of its Gothic predecessor. The second of these suppositions is contrary to history: the third is belied by experience: The first, then, is

the only one that is founded on probability[m]." This observation with respect to the prevalence of Celtic names, it would be futile to controvert; but Dr Geddes must also have remarked, that many of these names are not of Gaëlic but of Cumraig origin. That Scotland was originally peopled by a colony of Cumri, a late able writer has evinced to be extremely probable[n]: and probability is the only evidence of which so dark a subject appears susceptible. This Celtic race, it may be conjectured, was subjected by new settlers. These new settlers, of whatever origin, might however perpetuate the names which their predecessors had applied to mountains, rivers, and other external objects; for a similar process, it is well known, has been followed in numerous instances. Instead of maintaining, that "the second of these suppositions is contrary to history," we may therefore venture to represent the subject as one of those which history is incapable of elucidating. That every emigration of every tribe of mankind is faithfully recorded by some historian, it would certainly be preposterous to imagine[o].

If it can be proved that our Pictish ancestors were descended from the Goths, it will follow that

[m] Transact. of the Society of Antiq. vol. i. p. 408.

[n] Pinkerton's Enquiry into the Hist. of Scotl. vol. i. p. 15.

[o] Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro. HORATIUS.

their language was a dialect of the Gothic. Or, on the other hand, if it can be proved that their language was a dialect of the Gothic, it will follow that they themselves were descended from the Goths. That the Picts were Gothic colonies which emigrated from Scandinavia, has, I apprehend, been sufficiently evinced by Mr Pinkerton. The arguments which this acute and learned writer has advanced, it would here be impertinent to recapitulate: had his scheme of historical origins been proposed in a less contumelious spirit, it must undoubtedly have met with more general approbation. At present the question shall be left as undecided. With respect to the languages which formerly prevailed in Scotland, a few detached hints may be gleaned.

Adomnan informs us, that when St Columba preached to the Picts, he had recourse to an interpreter[p]. Columba was a native of Ireland; and his language was certainly understood by the Gaël. But if we suppose with Buchanan, that the language of the Scots and the Picts was nearly the same[q], we shall also be induced to conclude, that the Irish saint might have rendered his discourse intelligible to the inhabitants of Pictland. From this anecdote, however, no important consequences can be legitimately deduced; as different dialects of the same language may at

[p] Adomnani Vita Columbæ, lib. ii. cap. xxxiii.

[q] Buchanan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 30. edit. Ruddiman.

length recede to an immense distance from each other.

Beda, who flourished about the year 700, relates, that in the island of Britain the gospel was then preached in five languages; those of the Angles, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Romans[r]. Instead of five languages, Buchanan proposes to substitute five dialects: but as Beda has enumerated the Latin and Saxon tongues, this interpretation of his words is evidently inadmissible. His testimony does not however amount to a positive proof, that the Pictish language was a dialect of the Gothic; though it certainly evinces, that the Pictish and Scotish tongues were materially distinguished.

Henry of Huntingdon, according to Dr Macpherson's representation, "expresses his astonishment to find the Pictish tongue was in his time totally extinguished, insomuch that the accounts given of it by writers of former ages had the appearance of downright fiction. Henry wrote his history within less than four hundred years after the Pictish nation was incorporated with the Scots. It is therefore matter of great surprise, that no vestige of the Pictish tongue remained in his time, if it differed at all from the Galic of the Scots[s]."—It was incumbent upon Dr Macpherson to produce the authority without misrepresenta-

[r] Bedæ Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Anglor. p. 41. edit. Smith.

[s] Macpherson's Dissertations on the Caledonians, p. 57.

tion. Henry has affirmed, that the Picts themselves, as well as their language, were totally extinct[t]: and if one clause of the assertion be found erroneous, the other must at least be regarded as suspicious. That the Picts were ever extirpated, is an opinion which has at length become almost obsolete. At the battle of the standard, fought in the year 1138, the Picts of Galloway claimed their ancient privilege of forming the van[u]; a circumstance which tends to evince, that they were neither few in number, nor undistinguished for their prowess. This famous battle was fought during Henry's own life. The above passage of his work is very obnoxious to criticism. After having enumerated the Pictish tongue among the other languages then spoken in Britain, he gravely proceeds to observe, that the Picts and their tongue seemed as if they never had existed. It is evident however that he considered the Pictish as a distinct speech.

These insulated facts seem to afford some faint traces of evidence, that the Celtic language was not universally spoken in Scotland; but there

[t] "Quinque autem linguis utitur Britannia; Brittonum videlicet, Anglorum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum, quæ doctrina Scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis: quamvis Picti jam videantur deleti, et lingua eorum ita omnino destructa, ut jam fabula videatur quod in veterum scriptis eorum mentio invenitur."

H. Huntingdon. Hist. p. 299. apud Savile.

[u] Ailred. de Bello Standardi, col. 342. apud Twysden.

are others which may perhaps be represented as leading to an opposite conclusion.

The names of the Pictish kings, it has frequently been asserted, "are exactly the same with others that were common among the ancient Scots, and continue to be so in the Highlands to this day." Yet Dr Macpherson, notwithstanding his triumphant exclamations, has only been able to produce eight names from the catalogue: and these eight, as he indeed admits, belonged to Pictish kings who reigned after the introduction of Christianity. Whether he has been guilty of mangling these names, I shall not pretend to determine; but a charge of this kind has with sufficient violence been urged against him.

Beda observes, that the Pictish name of a certain place at the east end of Antoninus's wall was *Peanfahel*[v]: and from this solitary word Camden and Innes have supposed, that an argument may be derived in proof of the identity of the Welch and Pictish languages[w]. In the Welch, they have affirmed, this compound term signifies the head of the wall: but, on the other hand, it has been very confidently asserted, that the Welch tongue contains no such words as *pean* and *fahel*. But if it were even admitted, that *peanfahel* is either a simple or a compound term which may be traced in both languages, no important conclu-

[v] Bedæ Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Anglor. p. 50.

[w] Camdeni Britannia, p. 85. edit. Lond. 1600, 4to.

sion could thence be deduced. The same combinations of letters may often be found in languages which have distinct origins. *Scribes*, *cave*, *thus*, *cur rides*, are either Latin or English, according to the manner in which they are pronounced. The letters *a*, *m*, *a*, *t*, may either signify *a mat* or *he loves*. The Italian pronoun *eglino* might in a Scotish song be commodiously transformed into *Eglin-O*. The Greek word νοῦς and the French *nous* are formed by the same arrangement of the same letters: but are we thence authorized to conclude, that Greek and French are dialects of the same language? Pliny supposes the Celtic word *Druid* to be derived from δρῦς an oak; as if those who in all probability never heard of the Greeks or their language should have applied to such a source[x]. Yet this etymology is perhaps

[x] Strabo with superior good sense has remarked, that barbaric appellations are not to be traced to a Greek source. The learned Bochart however contends for the correctness of Pliny's etymology: "De nomine Druidum Plinio assentior.---Nec est quod quis miretur cur Druides Græco nomine appellentur, cum etiam apud Celtas quercus deru dicta sit." (*Geographia Sacra*, p. 666. b.) But this is itself a substantial reason for supposing the Celtic term Druid to have no connection with Greek etymology.

Caius's etymology of the word is still more fanciful than that of Pliny. Druid, as he affirms, is derived from Druys, the name of a very ancient British king. (*De Antiquitate Cantabrigensis Academiæ*, p. 15.)

Menage's derivation is perhaps as rational as any other that can be traced: "Je croirois plustost que *Druides* viendroit de *drus*, qui en vieux langage Britannique signifie *un démon*, *un esprit*, et mesme *un magicien*." (*Origines de la Langue Françoise*, p. 256.) In the etymological works of Vossius and Junius, other derivations of the word may be found.

as correct as that of Camden and Innes. Dr Gibson, in one of his notes on the *Polemo-Middinia*, affords another illustration of the danger of relying too much on etymological conjectures.

Incipit *Harlai* cunctis sonare *Batellum.*

The origin of the word *harlai*, he remarks, must be traced to the Icelandic *hardlya*, or, by contraction *harla; perquam, valdè, fortiter.* According to this notion, the verse must be interpreted, "He begins to summon them to the hardy fight." But its real signification is, "He begins to play a Scotish tune called *The battle of Harlaw.*" The following wretched epigram on Erasmus is the production of an obscure poet named Thomas Prujean:

That thou'rt a man, each of thy learn'd works shows:
But yet thy name tells us thou wast a mouse[y].

Dr Duport, in an epigram on Andrew Melvin, has displayed the same elegance of taste:

Qui non *Mel*, sed fel, non *vinum* das, sed acetum,
Quàm male tam belli nominis omen habes[z]!

These are rare illustrations of the plastic nature of etymology. Of the impropriety of drawing, from the consideration of detached words, exten-

[y] Prujean's Aurorata, sig. D. Lond. 1644, 12mo.

[z] Duport. Musæ Subsecivæ, p. 70. Cantab. 1676, 8vo.

sive conclusions with regard to the history of languages, I shall subjoin a remarkable exemplification. "The Holy Scripture," says Dr Bentley, "informs us, that Laban the Syrian, when he made a league with his son-in-law Jacob, call'd the heap of stones that, after the custom of those times, was erected for a memorial of it, *Igar Sahdutha*, The Heap of Witness: which, we are sure, from the Syriac versions of the Old and New Testament, continued to be pure and vulgar Syriac for 2000 years[a]." Of the permanency of the Syriac language, Dr Bentley seems to regard this circumstance as a convincing proof. Let us apply his canon of criticism to another subject. The second and seventh verses of the dirge composed on the death of King Alexander scarcely differ in a single word from the Scotish of the present day. This circumstance, according to Dr Bentley's scheme, ought to convince us, that the language of Scotland has continued pure and unmixed for the space of five hundred and seventeen years.

The *Breviarium Aberdonense*, according to Dr Geddes's representation, commemorates a St Irchard, born in the Pictish dominions, who, after having been consecrated at Rome, returned through the provinces of the Britons and Scots, and occasionally preached to the inhabitants. "That is, as I conceive it," subjoins the dissertator, "he preached to all the Celtic inhabitants in

[a] Bentley's Dissertation upon Phalaris, p. 404.

his mother-tongue; but not to the Saxons, whose language he did not understand." The learned writer was too intimately acquainted with ecclesiastical history, to regard this as a very strong argument. The first question which arises, is, whether such a man as St Irchard ever existed. If he actually existed, the Aberdeen Breviary was compiled at too late a period to be admitted as sufficient authority with respect to the events of his life. Into the Romish calender, it is almost superfluous to observe, that many fictitious saints have been intruded; and many of those who were real personages, have been conducted through imaginary adventures. If a Pictish saint ever preached to the Britons and Scots, what prevents us from conjecturing, that he had recourse to an interpreter? This was the plan adopted by the Irish saint Columba, when he preached to the Picts. If the Scots understood the language of a Pict, it might have been supposed that the Picts would understand the language of an Irishman: but the authority of Adomnan prevents us from forming such a supposition. When Archbishop Wauchope endeavoured to confirm the wild Irish in the Catholic faith, the discourses which it was his practice to deliver in the Latin tongue, and to accompany with the utmost grace of action, were afterwards interpreted by an ecclesiastic well acquainted with both languages[b]. If St

[b] Lesæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 475.

Irchard ever preached to the Britons or Scots, he might adopt a similar plan.—I have here admitted Dr Geddes's interpretation of the passage as unexceptionable: but it is certainly liable to a very material objection. Whatever this ingenious writer might conceive, the Breviary has by no means particularized the people to whom St Irchard is supposed to have preached. "Prosecuting his journey through the districts of England and of Scotland, he occasionally preached to the inhabitants[c]." Why are we to conclude, that he preached to the Britons and Scots, rather than to the Saxons and Picts?

At the coronation of Alexander the Third, a Highland bard, or senachy, is reported to have presented himself before the monarch, and to have recited in the Gaëlic tongue the names of his royal ancestors[d]. This circumstance, it may be alleged, affords additional proof, that Gaëlic was then the universal language of Scotland. Without attempting to demonstrate the ancient chronicler's relation to be altogether fabulous, the material objection may readily be obviated. If the Pictish language, a dialect of the Gothic, was then spoken at the Scotish court, it was however possible for Alexander to have become acquaint-

[c] "Iter continuando per partes Anglie et Scocie, paulisper predicando, usque ad congeriem in monte de Kincardin Oneyll in Scocia pervenit."
Breviar. Aberdon. tom. ii. Aug. f. lxxix. a.

[d] Bower. Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 84.

ed with the Gaëlic: Mithridates is said to have been acquainted with the respective languages of the twenty-two nations which composed his empire[c]. Or, if Alexander was ignorant of the Gaëlic, the Highland senachy might nevertheless persist in saluting him with genealogical strains. When the provost of a burgh visits the grammar-school, he is frequently addrest by the rector in a Latin oration: but are we under the necessity of supposing, that the rector's Latin oration is invariably understood by the provost? Moreover, the Gaëlic harangue might have been almost completely understood by a native of any country. If Alexander was aware that the Gaëlic word *mac* signifies a son, he could sufficiently comprehend the rest.

From a candid examination of these authorities, it will appear that the supposition of the Gothic language having been originally spoken by the Picts, is at least as rational as any other which has yet been proposed. If we scrutinize every branch of Dr Geddes's hypothesis, it will perhaps be found ingenious rather than satisfactory. Concluding that the Picts were a Celtic race, he endeavours to trace the causes which might be supposed to produce so radical a change in the national language. These reputed Celts, he conjectures, gradually forgot their native tongue, by

[c] Quintilian. de Institutione Oratoria, lib. xi. cap. ii.

adopting that of their southern neighbours. This change he is disposed to impute to such causes as the following; to the temporary subjection of the southern provinces of Scotland by the Northumbrians; to the immense number of captives seized during our ancient wars with the English; to the planting of English garrisons in several of the Scotish towns; to the amicable intercourse of the Picts with the English; and, finally, to the influence of Malcolm Kenmore's courtiers, whom he supposes to have learnt the English language from Queen Margaret and her retinue. But to the production of such an effect these causes seem inadequate. No event similar to that which Dr Geddes has presupposed is to be found recorded in the history of nations. Men are generally tenacious of their language and customs according to the degree of their remoteness from civilization: and it certainly will not be imagined that our ancestors during these periods had attained to a high pitch of refinement. "As the Greek," says this eminent philologer, "was first propagated among the Romans, through their Grecian captives, so might the English captives be instrumental in spreading the Saxon among their Pictish masters. For, as Hume most justly observes, 'The superiority of civility and knowledge, however small, over total ignorance and barbarism is prodigious." The number of captives whom King Malcolm conducted from England in 1070, was undoubt-

edly immense[f]: but as these were immediately reduced to the condition of slaves, it would have been a singular occurrence if such men had effected any innovation in the national language. Of captives, in such a state of society, contempt and infamy are the common portion. The superiority of civility over barbarism cannot be disputed: but in those who are unprepared for tracing the lines of excellence, this superiority is incapable of exciting the desire of emulation. Whatever the original language of the Picts may have been, it need not be doubted that they themselves regarded it as sufficiently copious and expressive. The most barbarous races of mankind have always been found to represent their own manners and customs as unrivalled: and civilization must have made considerable advances, before any nation begin to avail itself of the improvements introduced among its neighbours. The language of foreigners is never cultivated by the body of the people; but that language must finally prevail which is spoken by a considerable majority of the inhabitants of any country. Even when a kingdom changes its masters, it never changes its language, unless the old inhabitants be nearly extirpated. If "the Greek was first propagated among

f "Repleta est ergo Scotia servis et ancillis Anglici generis, ita ut etiam usque hodie nulla non dico villula, sed nec domuncula sine his valeat inveniri."

S. Dunelm. de Gestis Regum Anglor. col. 201. apud Twysden.

the Romans, through their Grecian captives," this circumstance cannot be adduced as a proper illustration of the present subject; for it has never been imagined that the Romans rejected their ancient language, and adopted that of their captives. It may even be disputed whether the influence of the Grecian captives was so considerable as Dr Geddes seems to suppose. That a knowledge of the Greek language was introduced among the Romans by means of literary adventurers, is an opinion which I regard as more tenable[g]. When the dissertator affirms, that usages and language are generally communicated together, it is only necessary to suggest, that this communication of a new language has never been found to produce a total extinction of the old. French has been

[g] It was not till about the five hundred and fortieth year after the building of the city, that the intercourse opened between the Roman republic and the states of Greece. At that period commenced the war against Philip King of Macedonia; which was afterwards renewed with superior vigour. This second war closed, to the advantage of the Romans, in the year 557; and they were now caressed by the degenerate Greeks as the deliverers of their country.

Before the year 540, the Romans could evidently have few Grecian captives of any description. But it is certain that the Greek language had been taught at Rome so early as the year 514. "Antiquissimi doctorum," says Suetonius, "qui iidem et poëtæ et oratores semigræci erant (Livium et Ennium dico, quos utraque lingua domi forisque docuisse adnotum est) nihil amplius quam Græcè interpretabantur, ac si quid Latinè ipsi composuissent, prælegebant." (*De Illustribus Grammaticis*, § 1.) Livius Andronicus flourished in the five hundred and fourteenth year after the building of the city. Ennius was born in 515, and died in 585.

These dates, for whose accuracy I rely on the authority of Petavius, will be sufficient to evince the inapplicability of Dr Geddes's illustration.

much studied in England, and yet the natives still persist in speaking English[h].

"The reign of Malcolm Kenmore," says Dr Geddes, "seems to have been the first period of a general denization of Saxon in Scotland. That monarch had been bred in England, and married an English princess. Her retinue were all English. English, in consequence, would become the language of the court. The courtiers would carry it to their respective homes; their domestics would be ambitious to speak the language of their masters; and thus it would be gradually introduced into every fashionable circle[i]." Malcolm, it is true, had spent a considerable part of his life at the English court; but it must be recollected that this was no seminary for acquiring the English language. Into that court the language of France had already been introduced: and it is extremely probable that this was the fashionable speech of Queen Margaret and her English retinue. So early as the year 652, it was

[h] At quisquis insulâ satus Britannicâ,
Si patriam insolens fastidiet suam,
Ut more simiæ laboret fingere,
Et æmulare Gallicas ineptias,
Ex amne Gallo ego hunc opinor ebrium.
Ergo ex Britanno ut Gallus esse nititur,
Sic Dii jubete, fiat ex gallo capus.

MORI Lucubrationes, p. 209.

[i] The very same causes are alleged in Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, p. 180. Antwerp, 1605, 4to. See also Dr Wallis's *Grammatica Linguæ Anglicanæ*, p. xxii. edit. Bowyer.

the common practice of the Anglo-Saxons, as Mr Warton remarks, to send their youth to the monasteries of France for education: and the language, as well as the manners of that nation, began to be classed among the politest accomplishments. Edward the Confessor, under whose protection Malcolm had continued for several years, was educated at the court of his uncle Richard the Second, Duke of Normandy; and from his long residence in that country, might almost be considered as a Frenchman. Upon his accession to the throne of England in the year 1043, the whole nation, under the influence of the king and his Norman favourites, began to imitate the manners of France: and in particular, Ingulph observes[k], that all the nobility in their courts began to adopt the French language as a mark of gentility[l].

The different causes which Dr Geddes has assigned, we may venture to conclude, were totally inadequate to the production of such extensive and important effects. The original language of the Picts was most probably a dialect of the Gothic; and, in its peculiarity of formation, antecedent to what is termed the Anglo-Saxon. But, that the Pictish, while it continued unmixed, was a written language, it would perhaps be danger-

[k] Ingulphi Hist. Croyl. p. 62. apud Gale.

[l] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 2. Tyrwhitt's Essay on Chaucer, p. 4.

ous to affirm. The Picts proceeded from the north, the Saxons from the south of Scandinavia: and their speech constituted two dialects of the same parent language[m]. The Pictish is more ancient than the Anglo-Saxon; but the latter was undoubtedly spoken by a more learned people. When the Picts began to direct their attention towards literary composition, they might naturally be led to adopt the grammatical system of their more enlightened neighbours. It may also be conjectured that the earliest of our poets were intimately acquainted with such models as the French tongue then afforded; a circumstance which will readily account for the correspondent progress of the Scotish as a language distinct from the English. French indeed appears to have been the fashionable language of the ancient Scotish court. To Alexander the Third the coronation-oath was first administered in Latin, and afterwards in French[n]; a plan which manifestly

[m] In this point of view they are also represented by Dr Robertson: "The English and Scottish languages, derived from the same sources, were, at the end of the sixteenth century, in a state nearly similar; differing from one another somewhat in orthography, though not only the words, but the idioms were much the same." (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 196.)

[n] "Priùs Latinè, postea Gallicè." (Bower. *Scoticbronicon*, vol. ii. p. 81.) The obvious interpretation of the latter word is, "in French;" but Mr Innes supposes it may here signify, "in Gaëlic." Mr Pinkerton affirms, that "it is French all the world over; and, had Galic been implied, it would have been *Hibernice*; for writers of a century or two after call it *Irish*. Galic is a very late word, nay I believe unknown till

presupposed the latter tongue to have been generally understood by the auditory. The negotiations at Norham between Edward the First and the Scotish nobles appear to have been for the most part conducted in French; and for this circumstance, as the excellent Mr Tyrwhitt observes, it will be difficult to account, unless we suppose French to have been the language of both courts.

Relative to the present subject Mr Ellis presents us with many judicious observations. The following are too apposite to be omitted: "The Danish and Anglo-Saxon, the supposed parents of the Scotch and English languages, were distinct dialects of the elder Gothic; but, in the infancy of literature, the poets of both countries, being equally dissatisfied with the poverty of their respective jargons, and conscious of the superior elegance which appeared in the French minstrel-compositions, vied with each other in borrowing, from these favourite models, as many words and phrases as it was possible to incorporate with their native forms of speech. In consequence of this

this present century." (*Essay on the Origin of Scotish Poetry*, p. lxiv.) This last assertion appears to be erroneous: for in the Aberdeen Breviary, published in 1509 and 1510, the Scots are termed *Galli*. "Rediens autem Sanctus Irchardus per Pictaviam, Pictos multum per *Gallos* vidit subjugatos, et in servitutem redactos." (*Breviar. Aberdon.* tom. ii. Aug. f. lxxxix. a.) But as Bower has never used the word in this sense, we are perhaps authorised to conclude, that by the adverb *Gallicè* he intended to convey the meaning which has now been assigned.

practice, the two languages seem to have attained, about the middle of the 14th century, their greatest degree of similarity. But these foreign words, being once naturalized, could not fail of undergoing considerable alterations; because the broader vowel-sounds, the gutturals, and the strongly-asperated accents of the Scots, differed equally from the French and English pronunciation; and this difference was preserved and increased, on both sides, by discordant and capricious systems of orthography. At the same time, as the number of readers increased, the writers became desirous of accommodating themselves to the general taste; and consequently began to transplant, from colloquial into literary language, a variety of popular expressions, which being peculiar to the one country, were obscure, or even unintelligible, to the natives of the other[o]."

Although the written languages of the two countries bore so near a resemblance to each other, yet it must not be taken for granted that at a remote period the vulgar dialects of the people were even mutually intelligible. In an assembly of the dignified clergy of Scotland, Malcolm the Third acted in the capacity of interpreter to Queen Margaret[p]. Bower has observed, that when James the First was detained in England, he heard

[o] Ellis, Hist. Sketch of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 390.
[p] Turgoti Vita Margaretæ, cap. ii. apud Pinkerton.

a language spoken which he did not undersand[q]. And yet the compositions of this royal poet, and of other Scotish writers who flourished about the same æra, do not, in point of language, differ very materially from those of their English cotemporaries. As French and Latin were the speech of the great and the learned in both countries, it is highly probable that when they condescended to use their native languages, they were in general satisfied with adopting the phraseology of the vulgar. According to this supposition, the common dialects of their respective countries must have been familiar to Queen Margaret and King James.

The vulgar languages of Scotland and England probably remained at an ample distance from each other till about the time of the union of the two crowns.

It must not be concealed that Dunbar, Lindsay, and other Scotish poets, have represented themselves as writing in the English tongue. Mair and Lesley have also asserted, that this language was spoken by our ancestors the Lowlanders. The cause

[q] "Unde translatus in Angliam, tanquam alter Josephus ductus in Ægyptum, etsi linguam quam non noverat audivit, artes tamen mechanicas, et scientias morales, quas non noverat, didicit et intellexit."

BOWER. Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 506.

Baldwyn represents King James as *learning* the English language: "Seing he was brought vp in England, where he learned the language, hys example also so notable it wer not mete it should be forgotten." (*Myrrovr for Magistrates*, f. xxxv. b. edit. Lond. 1563, 4to.)

of this confusion has been explained by referring to a simple fact: till a recent period, the Gaëlic of the Highlanders was termed the Scotish language; and as this Celtic dialect was radically different from the speech of the Gothic inhabitants, our ancestors happened to apply the term *English* to their native dialect, of the same origin with that of their southern neighbours[r]. It is however worthy of remark that Douglas, perhaps the most learned of our ancient poets, has evidently represented the Scotish and English as two distinct languages[s].

[r] Mr Pinkerton has observed, that "an Act of Parliament, 1541, authorizes the lieges to have the Bible in *Inglis and Scottis*," that is, in Scotish and Gaëlic.

So lately as the reign of James the Sixth, the inhabitants of the Highlands and certain of the isles were denominated Irishmen.—"The 20 of Marche (1593) ane proclamatione at the crosse, charging the Earles of Huntlie, Angus, Errole, with diverse gentlemen and Irishmen of the iyles, to compeir to the parliament for divers points of treasone." (Birrel's *Diarey*, p 30. ap. Dalyell.)—In an act of the General Assembly past in the year 1717, the Gaëlic tongue is termed the Irish. (Dundas's *Abridgment of the Acts of the General Assemblies*, p. 119.

[s] The following quotations from another learned writer are also applicable.—"And zit I hoip yat yow sal think me to speik propir langage, conforme to our auld brade Scottis."

WINZET's Vincentius Lirinensis, sig. *a* 4. b.

"Gif ze throw curiositie of nouationis hes forzet our auld plane Scottis, quhilk zour mother lerit zou, in tymes cuming I sall wryte to zou my mynd in Latin: for I am nocht acquyntit with zour Southeroun."

WINZET's Buke of Questions, sig. H 4.

Lord Hailes, in his *Life of John Hamilton*, quotes the following passage from that writer's *Quæstionis to the Ministeris*: "James the Fyft ---hering ane of his subjectis knap Suddrone, declarit him ane trateur."

And yit forsoith I set my besy pane,
As that I couth, to mak it brade and plane,
Kepand no Sodroun, bot oure awin langage,
And speke as I lerned quhen I wes ane page:
Na yet so clene all Sudroun I refuse,
Bot sum worde I pronunce as nychboure dois:
Like as in Latine bene Grewe termes sum,
So me behuffit quhilum, or be dum,
Sum bastard Latyne, Frensche, or Ynglis, ois;
Quhaire scant wes Scottis, I had none vther chois;
Not that oure toung is in the seluin skant,
Bot for that I the fouth of langage want.

DOUGLAS.

WHILE Barbour, King James, Dunbar, Douglas, and the rest of the Scotish poets were cultivating their native language, others of our countrymen were engaged in pursuits of a more scholastic kind.

The progress of a nation in the different departments of science or erudition is so closely connected with the state of its literary seminaries, that our present inquiries must partly be directed towards the institution of the Scotish universities. Previous to the foundation of that of St Andrews at the beginning of the fifteenth century, such of the Scotish youth as felt a more than vulgar desire of knowledge, were under the necessity of prosecuting their studies in some foreign country, or of putting themselves under the tuition of such monastic preceptors as Scotland could then furnish. The Universities of Oxford and Paris

seem to have been those which they chiefly frequented. In the year 1282, Dervorgil, the daughter of Allan Lord of Galloway, and the wife of the elder John Baliol, founded and endowed a college at Oxford[t]. Baliol College, it may be presumed, was open for the reception of Scotish students; though it does not appear from the statutes that those of other countries were excluded. In the year 1326, a college was founded and endowed at Paris by David Murray, Bishop of Murray[u]. This is generally known by the name of the Scotish College of Paris. Dr Mackenzie affirms, that the foundation was intended for the sole benefit of students born within the diocese of Murray: but if this was the founder's intention, his injunctions seem to have been speedily violated; for the college was afterwards replenished with students from almost every province of Scotland. Scotish students also resorted to Cambridge. According to an ancient record quoted by Caius, the students of that university were in the year 1270 classed by nations; and five English, three Scotish, three Irish, and two Welch collegians were invested with a kind of rectorial power, for the purpose of maintaining order among their respective countrymen[v].

[t] Wood's Antiq. of the University of Oxford, p. 73.

[u] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. ii. p. vi.

[v] Caius de Antiquitate Cantabrigensis Academicæ, p. 155.

But the antiquity of the date may lead us to suspect the authenticity of this statement.

The public lectures commenced at St Andrews in 1410; but the pope's bulls did not arrive till two years and a half subsequent to that period. Laurence Lindores expounded the fourth book of the Sentences[w]. Dr Richard Cornel, Archdeacon of Lothian, John Litstar, Canon of St Andrews, John Scheves, Official of that see, William Stephens, afterwards Bishop of Dumblane, were the lecturers on the canon law. Philosophy and logic were taught by John Gill, William Foulis, and William Crosier.

On the third day of February, 1413, Henry Ogilby, A. M. arrived from Rome, entrusted with papal bulls, by which the infant seminary was endowed with all the privileges of a university. The arrival of this welcome messenger was announced by all the bells of the city. The clergy being next day assembled with due solemnity in the refectory, the bulls were formally presented to Bishop Wardlaw, as chancellor of the university. After these were redd aloud, they proceed-

[w] *Liber Sententiarum*, the Book of Sentences, a once-celebrated system of scholastic theology, was compiled by Peter Lombard, who died Bishop of Paris in the year 1164. A writer who flourished at the close of the fifteenth century, mentions him in the following terms: "Vir in divinis scripturis studiosissimus et nobiliter doctus, ingenio subtilis, et clarus eloquio, nomen suum scribendo cum tanta gloria transmisit ad posteros, ut usque in hodiernum diem suis opusculis theologorum schola ubique exercitata, singulari veneratione *Magistrum* eum nominet et habeat."

TRITHEMIUS de Script. Ecclesiast. f. 57. b.

ed to the high altar and sang *Te Deum.* The remainder of the day was spent with the utmost festivity: copious fires were kindled in the streets and courts; and the learned clerks jovially passed the night, drinking wine in the gladness of their hearts. These rejoicings took place on Sunday. The ensuing Tuesday was appointed a festival for commemorating at once the arrival of St Andrew's reliques and that of the privileges of the university[x].

In the primary arrangement of studies, no attention seems to have been paid to classical learning. But it may be conjectured that an academy or grammar-school was under the immediate protection of the university. Hector Boyce, whose Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen were written in 1521, mentions three colleges at St Andrews; and particularly remarks, that the first, or *Pædogogium*, was situated in a most delightful part of the city[y]. This must have been a seminary where the youth were instructed in classical learning, previous to their admission into the philosophical schools: for St Salvator's and St Leonard's were the only colleges founded at the time when Boyce composed his work. From Sir Robert Sibbald's unsatisfactory account of this university we learn, that the scholastic exercises were originally performed in the Pedagogy; which was af-

[x] Bower. Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 445. edit. Goodall.

[y] Boëthii Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ, f. xxvi. b. Paris. 1522, 4to.

terwards demolished when Archbishop Beaton founded St Mary's College[z]. St Salvator's College was founded in the year 1458 by James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews. This endowment has been represented as a splendid monument of his liberality[a]. St Leonard's College was founded by Prior Hepburn in the year 1512. St Mary's or New College was begun by Archbishop Beaton, advanced by Cardinal Beaton, and finished in 1553 by Archbishop Hamilton[b]. Many of the earlier professors in this university were Scotishmen who had studied at Paris.

The University of Glasgow was founded in the year 1453 by William Turnbull, Bishop of that see[c]. Mair, whose History of Scotland was published in 1521, informs us, that it was but poorly endowed, and frequented by a small number of students[d].

King's College, Aberdeen, was founded by Bishop Elphinston, a man celebrated for the possession of almost every virtue. The papal bull had been obtained in 1494; but the edifices were not completed, nor did the education commence,

[z] Sibbald's Hist. of Fife and Kinross, p. 270. 353.

[a] Buchanan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 226. edit. Ruddiman.

[b] These dates of the foundations are authenticated by Dr Nicolson; who quotes the archives of the university. (*Scottish Historical Library*, p. 228.)

[c] Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 222.

[d] Major de Gestis Scotorum, p. 19.

till 1500[e]. The buildings were in that age regarded as magnificent; and the endowment was such as reflects the highest honour on his liberality. The original foundation provided for the maintenance of eight priests and seven singing boys; of professors of divinity, the canon law, the civil law, medicine, and humanity; of fourteen students of philosophy; and of ten bachelors, who, while they prosecuted their own studies, were to assist in directing those of the younger collegians. In this list, no professor of philosophy appears: but as mention is made of students of philosophy, it may be conjectured that they were instructed by some of the bachelors. The professor of divinity seems to have been, from his office, principal of the college, and the professor of the canon law subprincipal[f]. The first Principal of King's College was Hector Boyce; whom Bishop Elphinston had induced by munificent offers to resign

[e] Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 35.

[f] "Et ut religioni simul atque doctrinæ eo in collegio opera impendatur, instituti ad divina quotidie exequenda sacerdotes octo, et, quos de secunda forma vocant, pueri septem: qui altiores disciplinas profiterentur, quatuor doctores; primus theologus, cui Wilhelmi edicto cæteri omnes essent audientes; in pontificio jure secundus; tertius in Cæsario; medicus quartus: bacchalaurii (ut dicunt) decem qui et doctores audirent et erudirent alios. Horum præcipuus subprincipalis; cui, secundum principalem, summa est in collegio permissa potestas. Quatuordecim adolescentes pollentes ingenio qui philosophiæ insudarent. In humanis literis præceptor eruditus, ut ejus operâ adolescentes priusquam philosophiam audirent, grammaticâ imbuantur."

Boethii Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ, f. xxix. b.

his office as Professor of Philosophy in Montaigu College, Paris. The first Professor of Humanity was John Vaus; who was also the author of the first grammatical treatise which is known to have been published by a native of Scotland. At present the duty of a professor of humanity is, in our universities, limited to the teaching of Latin; but it is highly probable that formerly he might likewise instruct his pupils in the rudiments of Greek. If this supposition be found erroneous, it is to be feared that the Greek language was totally neglected in the foundation.—At what period this language began to be publicly taught in Scotland, is very uncertain. It was soon after the year 1500, says Mr Warton, that "Lyllye, the famous grammarian, who had learned Greek at Rhodes, and had afterwards acquired a polished Latinity at Rome, under Johannes Sulpicius and Pomponius Sabinus, became the first teacher of Greek at any public school in England[s]. This

[s] George Lilly, a son of the grammarian's, wrote, in the form of an epistle to Paulus Jovius, eulogies of Colet, W. Lilly, Grocin, Linacre, Lupset, Pace, Fisher, More, and Latimer. This epistle was published with Jovius's *Descriptio Britanniæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et Orchadum.* Venet. 1548, 4to.

I avail myself of this opportunity of directing the reader's attention to another rare article of English biography: it is entitled "Heroologia Anglica; hoc est Clarissimorum et Doctissimorum aliquot Anglorum qui floruerunt ab anno Christi 1500 usque ad presentem annum 1620, Vivæ Effigies, Vitæ, et Elogia. Authore H. H. Anglo-Britanno." Lond. 1620, fol. The portraits are executed with no inconsiderable degree of elegance. A copy of this work may be found in the library of St Paul's Cathedral.

was at saint Paul's school in London, then newly founded by Dean Colet, and celebrated by Erasmus; and of which Lyllye, as one of the most exact and accomplished scholars of the age, was appointed the first master[h]."

Marischal College, Aberdeen, was founded in the year 1593[i]. By the disinterested exertions of George Keith, Earl Marischal, the revenues which before the Reformation had belonged to a Franciscan monastery, were appropriated to this more useful institution[j].

David Chalmers has impudently asserted, that the University of Aberdeen was founded so early as the year 1240, and that it afterwards included no fewer than six colleges[k]. Its foundation has already been ascertained: and it is certain that these two are the only colleges of which Aber-

h Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 433.

i T. Middleton's Append. to Spotswood, p. 28.

j Garden, Vita Johannis Forbesii, p. 4.—The Earl Marischal died on the fifth of April 1623, in the seventieth year of his age. His funeral oration was pronounced by William Ogston, Professor of Moral Philosophy in Marischal College. (Ogstoni *Oratio Funebris in Obitum maximi virorum Georgii Marischalli Comitis, Academiæ Marischallanæ, Aberdoniæ, Fundatoris et Mæcenatis Munificentissimi.* Aberd. 1623, 4to.) The college published a collection of poems on his death, under the title of "Lachrymæ Academiæ Marischallanæ, sub obitum Mæcenatis et Fundatoris sui Munificentissimi, Nobilissimi et Illustrissimi Georgii, Comitis Marischalli." Aberd. 1623, 4to. Dr Shirrefs quotes a Latin oration in honour of the benefactors of Marischal College, published by a Mr William Smith in the year 1702. (*Life of Dr William Guild*, p. 87.)

k Camerarius de Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrina, et Pietate, p. 56. 57. Paris. 1631, 4to.

deen could ever boast. On the authority of this fabulist, Dr Duck with sufficient credulity has informed us, that a college founded there by some of the Scotish kings was solely appropriated to the study of the civil law[l].

The University of Edinburgh was not founded till the year 1582[m]: but notwithstanding its late institution it rose by degrees to no inconsiderable eminence.

The English universities were established at a much earlier period than those of Scotland: their antiquity indeed is so remote, that their original institution has never been completely ascertained. With respect to the comparative antiquity of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, much controversy has arisen. The contest which about two hundred years ago was warmly maintained by Dr John Caius[n] and Brian Twyne[o], so far from tending to illustrate the subject, only served to involve it in deeper obscurity. These and other writers, zealous for the honour of the rival seminaries, have referred their origin to a period long before such institutions were known in any

[l] Duck de Authoritate Juris Civilis, p. 430.

[m] For a copious account of this university, consult Mr Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 384. Some information with respect to its early state may be derived from George Robertson's life of Principal Rollock. (*Vita et Mortis D. Roberti Rolloci Scoti Narratio.* Edinb. 1599, 12mo.)

[n] Caius de Antiquitate Cantabrigensis Academiæ. Lond. 1574, 4to.

[o] Twyni Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis Apologia. Oxon. 1608, 4to.

country of Europe. It appears from the valuable dissertations of Conringius, that the seminaries which we denominate universities cannot be traced beyond the thirteenth century; and that the University of Paris surpassed every other in the antiquity of its foundation[p].

That learning should not have been disseminated in Scotland till a recent period, will not excite our surprise when we consider the remote situation, and the poverty of the country. When we attempt to form a comparative estimate of English and Scotish literature, we ought to recollect the superior wealth of England, as well as its local advantages and the superior number of its inhabitants. The progress of learning is to be traced from the south to the north of Europe. The proximity of England to France, a country where learning flourished at an early period, may be assigned as one of the many causes which have contributed to advance it to the summit of literary fame. The progress of learning is in some measure connected with that of wealth: a nation sunk in poverty will seldom be found distinguished for liberal knowledge. The uniform poverty of Scotland it would be in vain to deny. Besides, at every period the population of England has greatly exceeded that of the sister kingdom: and

[p] Conringii de Antiquitatibus Academicis Dissertationes sex habitæ in Academia Julia, p. 93. Helmestad. 1651, 4to.

if we suppose an equal proportion of the inhabitants of both countries to have cultivated letters, it were but reasonable to expect that England should have produced a much greater number of successful candidates for literary distinction.

The history of their native country generally engages the attention of the earlier successions of scholars. The oldest history of Scotland is of a comparatively recent date, and exhibits very few traces of literary excellence. It is the production of Fordun and Bower, two ecclesiastics to whose industry succeeding writers are highly indebted. John Fordun, Canon of Aberdeen, derives his surname from the place of his birth, a village in the county of Kincardine. The time of his birth has not been ascertained; but he appears to have flourished about the year 1380. He is described by Bower as a simple man who never graduated in the schools. The first five books, and twenty-three chapters of the sixth book, of the *Scotichronicon* are the composition of this *venerable orator:* for the remainder of the work we are indebted to the industry of Walter Bower. This pious chronicler was born at Haddington in the year 1385. At the age of eighteen he assumed the religious habit; and, after finishing his philosophical and theological studies, visited Paris in order to study the laws. Having returned to his native country, he was unanimously elected Abbot of St Colm in the year 1418. At

the request of Sir David Stewart of Rossyth, he undertook to transcribe the work of Fordun: but instead of executing a mere transcript, he inserted large interpolations, and continued the narrative to the death of James the First. The principal materials for this continuation had been collected by his predecessor. The *Scotichronicon* extends to sixteen books.—Fordun and Bower are undoubtedly inferior to the original historians of several other countries of modern Europe. Their Latinity is scholastic and barbarous: and in the essential qualities of genuine history their work is very deficient.

Andrew Winton, Prior of Lochleven, composed his metrical *Cronykil of Scotland* about the year 1420. He is perhaps a more judicious writer than either Fordun or Bower; though his share of credulity and superstition is sufficiently ample.

The next historian that presents himself is John Mair, a celebrated Doctor of the Sorbonne. He was born at North Berwick about the year 1446; studied at Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris; and was at length appointed Principal of St Salvator's College, St Andrews[q]. His six books *De Gestis Scotorum* were published at Paris in 1521. His narrative is meagre, and his style quodlibetical: but his candour and simplicity of heart cannot

[q] See the memoirs of his life and writings by George Crawford, prefixed to the last edition of his history. Edinb. 1740, 4to.—Possevin and Wadding have split the identical John Mair into two persons.

fail to endear him to every ingenuous reader. Lesley has properly characterised him as a writer more studious of truth than of eloquence[r]. In the scholastic learning of the age he was profoundly skilled.

Hector Boyce, a writer of greater talents but of inferior veracity, flourished about the same period. Seventeen books of his history were published at Paris in the year 1526: and at the time of his death he had completed little more than another book. Boyce was undoubtedly a man of genius, and one of the most elegant Latinists of which his country can boast: but his predilection for fable has secured him a conspicuous place among literary impostors[s]. His work abounds with fictions of every denomination. The very authors on whose authority he professes to rely are supposititious: Dr Stillingfleet has demonstrated that Veremund, Cornelius, and Campbell, never existed except in Boyce's fertile imagination[t].

John Lesley, LL. D. the celebrated Bishop of Ross, was an accomplished scholar, and a man of enlarged experience. His different compositions

[r] Lealæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 414. edit. Romæ, 1675, 4to.

[s] Hectoris historici tot, quot mendacia scripsit
Si vis ut numerem, lector amice, tibi,
Me jubeas etiam fluctus numerare marinos,
Et liquidi stellas connumerare poli.
LELAND.

[t] Stillingfleet's Antiq. of the British Churches, p. 255.

exhibit sufficient proofs of his ingenuity and learning: and, in particular, his history of Scotland, published at Rome in 1578, has been found a work of utility as well as of elegance. Through the earlier period of our annals he is chiefly guided by the authority of Hector Boyce; but his materials for the history of the later reigns are authentic and valuable. In commendation of Lesley's production, a copy of verses was composed by the elegant Muretus. The following lines merit transcription:

Ter fœlix Leslæe animi! tibi gloria cessit
Utraque, ut et doctis meritò scripsisse legenda,
Et gessisse idem meritò scribenda feraris.

This encomium proceeded from one of the finest scholars of the age.

Buchanan's history was published at Edinburgh in the year 1582. The composition of this work reflects the highest honour on the literature of his native country. No modern writer ever made a nearer approach to the genuine spirit of the ancients. Erasmus, when he composed his CICERONIANUS, was unable to select a single Scotish author entitled to a place among his elegant humanists. Had he flourished at a somewhat later æra, he might have found an ample catalogue; and among the most conspicuous of the number, our historians Boyce, Lesley, and Buchanan.

About this period our countrymen had begun to aspire to that eminence in Latin poetry which they long continued to maintain. Florence Wilson, the well-known author of the dialogue *De Animi Tranquillitate*, may be classed among the earliest of those who wrote Latin verse with any degree of elegance. The poetry of his renowned cotemporary Buchanan has so frequently been the object of panegyric, that it would now be fruitless to resume the topic. The Admirable Crichton is another of those scholars who have contributed to render the name of Scotland so respectable in the annals of literature[u]. Mark Alexander Boyd has also been celebrated as a poet of more than ordinary ingenuity: but whatever his natural endowments may have been, he produced no finished specimens of composition. Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews, is to be ranked among the eminent Latin poets who flourished during the reign of James the Sixth.

By the royal house of Stewart the interests of

[u] Crichton is mentioned by Joannes Imperialis in terms of the highest admiration: "Hic est Critonius ille Scotus transacti dudùm seculi monstrum, prodigioso naturæ opificis conatu editum, quò Parnassi spacia stupendo et inusitato spectaculo illustrarentur. Hic est totius adhuc orbis judicio Phœnix habitus ingeniorum, divinæ mentis igniculis summi potius datoris referens majestatem, quam mortalem ad æmulandum lacessens industriam." (*Museum Historicum*, p. 141. Venet. 1640, 4to.) The testimony of Imperialis is adduced by Dr Kippis; but there are others which might also claim the attention of a biographer. See, in particular, the *Scaligerana*, p. 58.

literature were seldom neglected. Several of this unfortunate race of monarchs were themselves emulous of literary distinction; and were therefore more ready to promote the common cause of learning. The first James was a most successful cultivator of letters, and a generous patron of the learned. His grandson James the Third, whatever may have been his general character, was by no means inattentive to the elegant arts. The reign of James the Fourth was honourably marked by the foundation of the University of Aberdeen, and by the introduction of the typographical art into Scotland[r]. The influence of this art in enlightening mankind is so extensive and important, that every individual who has contributed to its general establishment, is entitled to perpetual gratitude. "The philosophers of antiqui-

[r] The first Scotish printers were Walter Chapman and Andrew Millar; who, in consequence of a patent, established a press at Edinburgh in the year 1507. (Chalmers, *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 80.) In 1508, they are known to have printed various pamphlets; a collection of which may be found in the Advocates Library. The first volume of the *Breviarium Aberdonense* issued from their press in 1509; the second in 1510.—Of this very rare book a complete and well-preserved copy belongs to the library of the University of Edinburgh.

The establishment of printing-presses in the other principal towns of Scotland cannot so easily be traced. Knox's *Faythfull Admonition unto the Professours of Gods Truthe in England* was, if we may credit the title-page, printed at *Kalykow* or Kelso. This work appeared in 1554. Aberdeen, the seat of a university, could not boast of a printing-press till a much later period. In the colophon of a poem on the death of Bishop Forbes, Edward Raban styles himself "Master printer, the first in Aberdene." (*Funerals of Bishop Forbes*, p. 429. Aberd. 1635, 4to.)

ty," says the eloquent Mackintosh, "did not, like Archimedes, want a spot on which to fix their engines; but they wanted an engine to move the moral world. The press is that engine, which has subjected the powerful to the wise, by governing the opinions of mankind."

The court of this monarch was frequented by Dunbar, and probably by several other poets of eminence. Henryson, Kennedy, Inglis, and Shaw, appear to have been his cotemporaries. The reign of his immediate successor is more conspicuous in the annals of literature[w]; but it cannot be affirmed that men of letters were incited to exertion by the bounty of the sovereign. Although James was not unacquainted with letters, yet from him literature seems to have derived little or no protection. Nature had endowed him with many valuable qualities: but his education had unfortunately been intrusted to those who deemed it most conducive to their private interest to contaminate his youthful mind with the seeds of corruption; and his native generosity was in some measure impaired by the malignant influence of

[w] It was at the court of this monarch that Ronsard, a celebrated French writer, imbibed a taste for poetry.—"Car un gentil-homme Escossois, nommé le Seigneur Paul, tresbon poëte Latin, se plaisoit à luy lire tous les jours, quelque chose de Virgile ou d'Horace, le luy interpretant en François ou en Escossois; et luy qui avoit déja jetté les yieux sur les rimes de nos anciens autheurs, s'efforçoit de le mettre en vers, le mieux qu'il luy estoit possible."

PERRON, Oraison Funebre sur la Mort de M. de Ronsard.

the numerous temptations to which he was industriously exposed. Lust and avarice were prominent features of his disposition. The former contributed to withdraw his attention from the elegant recreations of literature; the latter prevented him from rewarding the merit which he was so capable of discriminating. Of his liberality to poets, Lindsay and Stewart have by no means spoken in commendatory terms. "Let me first," says Stewart, "enumerate the bounty of my chief and sovereign. To put his generosity to the test, he advanced as silently as a thief, and slipped into my hand a new-year's gift of—two shillings." During his reign however knowledge began to be more generally diffused; and the manly spirit of investigation was excited which was soon to produce the Reformation. The Latin compositions of Boyce and Wilson, and the Scotish poems of Douglas, Lindsay, and Bellenden, exhibit no unfavourable specimens of the genius and taste of the age.

Of these eminent writers, three were dignitaries of the Scotish church; Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, Bellenden, Archdeacon of Murray, Boyce, Canon of Aberdeen: and it would have been fortunate if such emoluments had always been conferred with equal discrimination. But they were too frequently lavished without any regard to merit: many of the dignified clergy

were men as devoid of learning as of piety[x]. The pernicious system of retaining benefices *in commendam* was now tolerated in its utmost extent: the most opulent livings were commonly secured for the branches or for the retainers of powerful families; and humble merit was in the mean time suffered to languish in obscurity. In other countries it was a frequent practice to supply occasional vacancies with foreigners of distinguished attainments; and by this plan to increase the general respectability of the ecclesiastical establishment. The wealth of the Scotish church, when compared with that of the nation at large, was enormous: but its guardians very seldom had recourse to this laudable expedient. The ignorance and immorality of the ecclesiastics[y] may be regarded as one of the principal causes which hastened the momentous revolution in the national religion. The prelates seem at length to have been aware of the danger to which their establishment was exposed by an almost total neglect of divine and secular learning; and to have exerted themselves in procuring such teachers as might be instrumental in supporting the tottering church, by initiating its future members in the necessary branches of erudition. In the year 1522 Alex-

[x] "Pro optimis et eruditissimis viris, qui tum ex omni orbe terrarum perquirebantur, paulatim ignavissimi quique ac sceleratissimi homines ad doctorum præmia subrepserunt."

BOETHII Scotorum Historia, f. 342. b.

[y] See Wilkins Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ, vol. iv. p. 46.

ander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, made a laudable effort to rescue his seminary from the ignorance by which it had been invaded. In his epistle to the abbot and monks of St Victor near Paris, he speaks in the following terms: "We stand in need of nothing so much as of an accession of learned men. Although in former times men of learning abounded in our monastery, yet at present they are almost completely extinct. Nor will their place be speedily supplied, unless we send a certain number of our most promising novices to the universities, where there is a greater frequency of literary exercises. But we do not hold it expedient for them to engage in secular studies; and are therefore solicitous, that they should be educated in your college, in order that they may thus be familiarized with the manners and regulations of so excellent a seminary; that they may acquire a complete knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, and may afterwards be instrumental in the propagation of learning and piety[z]." The result of this application is unknown. In the year 1528 Johannes Ferrerius, a lettered Piedmontese, visited Scotland in the train of the munificent Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinloss, and afterwards Bishop of Orkney. For the space of about three years he continued at court with his patron: but he at length became disgusted with the ab-

[z] Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 336.

sence of studious leisure, and requested permission either to retire to the monastery of Kinloss, or to depart from the kingdom. The abbot was unwilling to consent to his departure: and Ferrerius now found a retreat in the convent, where he occupied himself in his private studies, and in superintending those of the other monks[a]. His labours in different departments of Scotish history entitle him to the gratitude of his successors[b]: and it is to be regretted that such a writer as Lord Hailes should have treated his literary character with undue severity[c]. Ferrerius has undoubtedly been betrayed into many errors: but

[a] Ferrerii Hist. Monast. à Kenlos, col. 326. apud Martene et Durand.

[b] Ferrerius is the author of several works. The following relate to Scotish history: "Historia Monasterii a Kenlos Ordinis Cisterciensis in Scotia a Johanne Ferrerio Pedemontano ejusdem monasterii monacho scripta anno 1537;" published by Martene and Durand. (*Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Collectio*, tom. vi. Paris. 1729, fol.) "De Origine et Incremento Familiæ Gordoniorum Compendium Historicum;" MS. Advocates Library. "Boëthii Scotorum Historiæ Continuatio;" subjoined to the second edition of Boyce's work.

The following miscellaneous productions of Ferrerius were published at Paris in quarto: "Academica de Animorum Immortalitate, ex sexto M. T. Ciceronis de Republica libro, Enarratio." 1539. "Auditum Visu præstare, contra vulgatum Aristotelis placitum, Academica Dissertatio." 1539. "Cicero, Poeta etiam Elegans, nedum Ineptus fuisse, contra vulgatam Grammatistarum opinionem, asseritur." 1540. "De Veræ Cometæ Significatione, contra Astrologorum omnium vanitatem, Libellus." 1540. "Jo. Francisci Pici Mirandulæ Domini de Animæ Immortalitate docta et arguta Digressio, nunquam prius in Galliis excusa: adjecimus huic Digressioni Jo. Ferrerii Pedemontani Entelechiam, cum nonnullis aliis." 1541.

[c] Hailes's Examination of some of the Arguments for the High Antiquity of *Regiam Majestatem*. Edinb. 1769, 4to.

most of these errors were incident to a historian placed in such circumstances.

These procrastinated exertions of the clergy were ineffectual; the church could no longer retain her former influence over the minds of the people. When Queen Mary arrived at the years of maturity, she found the majority of her subjects intent upon that innovation which they so strenuously accomplished. The Catholics however did not recede without contest. The arm of persecution had for the most part been restrained by the mildness of the reigning family; but it is evident that several of the ecclesiastics were piously disposed to secure the peace of the church by the death of its enemies. Some of its more amiable and accomplished members had recourse to the weapons of reason and learning. Quintin Kennedy, Commendator of Crossragwell, published a compendious treatise, with a view "to establish the conscience of a Christian man in all such matters as were then in debate[d]." This respectable writer was also engaged in public disputa-

[d] "Ane Compendius Tractiue conforme to the Scripturis of Almychtie God, Ressoun, and Authoritie, declaring the nerrest and onlie way to establische the conscience of ane Christiane Man, in all materis (quhilks ar in debate) concernyng Faith and Religioun."—1558, 4to.—A copy of this very rare book belongs to the Advocates Library. Lesley informs us, that Kennedy published other works; "duos, præter alia opuscula, edidit libros" (*De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, p. 540): but it is probable that they were only circulated in manuscript. His correspondence with Willox occurs in the appendix to Bishop Keith's *History of Scotland*.

tions with Knox and Willox, two of the most zealous Reformers. But the most powerful champion of the Catholics was Dr Ninian Winzet; whose various productions entitle him to a conspicuous place in our literary annals. He was a native of Renfrew, and educated for the church; but it does not appear that he ever obtained any preferment in Scotland. He undertook the charge of the grammar-school of Linlithgow; where, as he himself informs us, he spent about ten of the most flourishing years of his life. Being at length expelled by the Reformers, he sought refuge in Germany[e]. His merits were too conspicuous to be overlooked; and he was soon afterwards ap-

[e] "At the command," says Winzet, "of Dene Patrik Kinloquhy, Precheour in Linlythgow, and of his superintendent, gentil reedar, I, for denying only to subscriue thair phantasie and factioun of faith, wes expellit and schott out of that my kyndly toun, and fra my tender freindis thair, quhais perpetuall kyndnes I hoipit that I had conquest, be the spending about ten zeris of my maist flurissing aige, nocht without manifest vtilitie of thair commoun welth, and be all apperance had obtenit sik fauour of thame as ony sik man micht haif of ony communitie." See the preface to his *Buke of fourscoir-thre Questions, tuechinge Doctrine, Ordour, and Maneris*. Antwerp, 1563, 8vo. This sensible production Keith has reprinted in his appendix, together with Winzet's *Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris*. Edinb. 1562, 4to. A copy of the *Questions* is among Clement Little's books in the library of the University of Edinburgh. The same library contains a copy of the *Tractatis*, and an imperfect copy of Winzet's *Last Blast of the Trompet of Godis Worde aganis the Vsurpit Auctoritie of Johne Knox and his Caluiniane Brether, intrudit Prechearis*. Edinb. 1562, 4to. This work was apparently unknown to Dr Mackenzie and to Bishop Keith. In this library there is also a MS. copy of the *Questions*; which however is curtailed of the introductory and of the concluding address. It bears the title of *Certaine Articlis tuechinge Doctrine*, &c.

pointed Abbot of the Scotish monastery at Ratisbon. James Tyrie, a Jesuit, was another zealous writer, and of the same principles[f].

The most eminent defender of the Protestant tenets was John Knox, a man of vigorous understanding, and of a very considerable share of acquired knowledge. He was engaged in several controversies; and wrote with the same boldness with which he acted. The Reformed church, during the first age of its progress, was far from being deficient in men of learning. The works of Knox, Cockburn, Arbuthnot, Smeton, Rollock, Adamson, Pont, and Melvin, have been allowed to exhibit sufficient proofs of the literary qualifications of the respective authors.

Religious and civil liberty are inseparably connected. The indignant spirit which taught our ancestors to spurn at the tyranny of the Romish superstition, naturally produced a more rigid examination of the general principles of government. Their scrutinizing genius revived in its

[f] Tyrie was engaged in a controversy with Knox. He had addrest a letter to his brother in order to detach him from the Protestant party: this letter was afterwards delivered to Knox, who published it together with his own animadversions. See his *Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie.* St Andrews, 1572, 8vo. At Paris in 1573 Tyrie printed his own letter with the answer of his antagonist, and a reply to that answer. According to Dempster (*Scotia Illustrior*, p. 50. Lugd. Bat. 1620, 8vo.), this learned Jesuit was the author of a work published under the name of George Thomson; *De Antiquitate Religionis Christianæ apud Scotos.* Rom. 1594, 4to.

ancient dignity the important study of political science. "The science which teaches the rights of man, the eloquence that kindles the spirit of freedom, had for ages been buried with the other monuments of the wisdom and relics of the genius of antiquity. But the revival of letters first unlocked, only to a few, the sacred fountain. The necessary labours of criticism and lexicography occupied the earlier scholars; and some time elapsed before the spirit of antiquity was transfused into its admirers. The first man of that period who united elegant learning to original and masculine thought was Buchanan: and he too seems to have been the first scholar who caught from the ancients the noble flame of republican enthusiasm. This praise is merited by his neglected, though incomparable tract, *De Jure Regni*, in which the principles of popular politics, and the maxims of a free government, are delivered with a precision, and enforced with an energy, which no former age had equalled, and no succeeding has surpassed[g]." The independent spirit which animated Buchanan had been cherished, at least in some degree, by Mair and Boyce. These two writers, instead of representing the great body of the people as born to gratify the caprice of a few privileged individuals, have generally vindicated the unalienable rights of mankind.

[g] Mackintosh's Defence of the French Revolution, sect. v.

The publication of Buchanan's work was undoubtedly productive of important consequences: it has perhaps contributed to establish the principles of political freedom on a more permanent basis; and it is at least evident that it promoted a more manly spirit of inquiry than had formerly prevailed. The doctrines which it unfolded were so different from those which till then had commonly been taught, that a violent ferment ensued. Buchanan's treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, as well as his history, was, after its incomparable author's death, prohibited by a contemptible statute of the Scotish parliament: and his royal pupil, in the precepts addrest to Prince Henry, has been graciously pleased to pronounce the latter an *infamous libel*[h].

The earliest and perhaps the most learned of his formal antagonists were his countrymen Blackwood, Winzet, and Barclay. Adam Blackwood, Professor of Law in the University of Poictiers, was a scholar of no mean reputation. He had already exhibited different proofs of his zeal[i]: and on the present occasion he was the first advocate who advanced to plead the sacred cause of kings. Dr Ninian Winzet, who was formerly engaged in a dispute with Knox, now entered the lists against

[h] K. James's Workes, p. 176. Lond. 1616, fol.

[i] Blackwood wrote a treatise *De Conjunctione Religionis et Imperii*. Paris. 1575, 8vo.—A collective edition of his works was published at Paris in 1644 in a quarto form; with an elogium of the author by Gabriel Naudé.

a more powerful adversary. This writer, a man of learning and ingenuity, was possest of more candour than the generality of his ecclesiastical brethren; but his sentiments with regard to politics and religion were necessarily tinctured with some degree of abjectness and superstition. Different ages yield to the current of different opinions; and the baneful contagion of party has infested the political writers of every age. The amiable Dr Berkeley, a scholar and a man of genius who flourished during the eighteenth century, debased his noble faculties by inculcating, in two metaphysical discourses preached before the University of Dublin, the monstrous doctrine of passive obedience. Buchanan's political sentiments were again formally controverted by Dr William Barclay, Professor of Law in the University of Pontamousson. Barclay's treatise *De Regno et Regali Potestate* is a work of various erudition, but somewhat obnoxious to the charge of prolixity[1].

1 1. Blacvodæi adversus Georgii Buchanani Dialogum, De Jure Regni apud Scotos, pro Regibus Apologia. Pictav. 1581, 4to.

2. Winzeti Flagellum Sectariorum qui Religionis Prætextu Seditiones jam in Cæsarem aut in alios Orthodoxos Principes excitare student, quærentes, ineptissimè quidem, Deóne magis an Principibus sit obediendum? Accessit Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum circa Dialogum quem scripsit de Jure Regni apud Scotos. Ingolstad. 1582, 4to.

3. Barclaius de Regno et Regali Potestate, adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium, et reliquos Monarchomachos. Paris. 1600, 4to.

Besides Buchanan, Blackwood, Winzet, and Barclay, Scotland about this period had produced several other political writers. Knox undertook to demonstrate, that "to promote a woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion, or empire, aboue any realme, nation, or citie, is repugnant to

He is also the author of another political production, *De Potestate Papæ;* which the learned Menage has pronounced excellent[k].

Of the Scotish writers who flourished during the sixteenth century, few are entitled to a more conspicuous place than Florence Wilson; a scholar whose attainments have been commemorated by Buchanan and Sadolet[l]. His beau-

nature, contumelie to God; a thing most contrarious to his reueled will and approued ordinance; and finallie that it is the subuersion of good order, of all equitie and iustice." (*The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*, f. 9. a.—1558, 8vo.)

[k] John Barclay, the son of this eminent civilian, and himself a polite scholar of merited reputation, has generally been classed among the Scotish writers; but impartiality compels us to transfer him to another learned nation. In affirming that he was born at Aberdeen, Sir Thomas Pope Blount is guilty of a manifest error. (*Censura Celebriorum Authorum*, p. 933.) His mother was a native of France, and he was born, as well as educated, in that country; circumstances which evidently deprive Scotland of the honour that she has arrogated. If Barclay is still to be ranked among the ornaments of North Britain, our claims are equally valid with respect to Adrian Turnebus, Count Hamilton, and Dr Brown. The father of Alexander More or *Morus*, the learned antagonist of Milton, was also a native of Scotland. (Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. iii. p. 434.) John Johnston, M. D. the author of various works on natural history, and of a dissertation *De Festis Græcorum* reprinted in the seventh volume of Gronovius's *Græcarum Antiquitatum Thesaurus*, was probably the descendant of a Scotish family. Poland, his native country, was formerly replenished with Scotish emigrants: if we may credit a notable traveller, it contained, during the seventeenth century, no fewer than thirty thousand Scotish families. (William Lithgow's *Nineteen Years Travels*, p. 402.) A person whose father is of one country, and his mother of another, cannot be said to belong exclusively to either of the two countries. Individuals of this description the Greeks designated by the term ἀμφίδις, the Latins by the term *bigeneres*.

[l] Sadoleti Epistolæ, p. 227. 639. 657. edit. Lugduni, 1554, 8vo.

tiful dialogue *De Animi Tranquillitate*[m], which he is supposed to have formed on the exquisite model of Cebes[n], is written in a style of Latinity

[m] Florentius Volusenus de Animi Tranquillitate. Lugduni apud Gryphium, 1543, 4to. Edinb. 1571, 8vo. Hag. Com. 1642, 8vo. Edinb. 1707, 8vo. Edinb. 1751, 8vo.—The fourth edition was superintended by Mr Ruddiman, the fifth by Dr Wishart.

[n] Meiners, in a late dissertation *De Quibusdam Socraticorum Reliquiis*, has decisively stated it as his opinion, that the work ascribed to Cebes is the production of some adept in the philosophy of Zeno. (*Commentationes Gottingenses*, vol. v.) But in forming this conclusion, he has apparently been bewildered by a series of erroneous suppositions. The arguments by which Wolfius, Berkelius, Meiners, and other critics, have endeavoured to detect its spuriousness, could not be conveniently discussed within the limited compass of a note; but it may perhaps be excusable to recapitulate such as appear most plausible.

1. It has often been urged that this production contains an enumeration of Epicureans, Peripatetics, and critics; names totally unknown during the age of Cebes. But without any impropriety we may suppose, that these words are an interpolation, and, as a very learned writer conjectures, have been transferred from the margin to the text. (Brucker *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, vol. i. p. 580.) Accidents of this nature, it is well known, have "happened, not merely in hundreds or thousands, but in millions of places." (Porson's *Letters to Travis*, p. 149.) In quoting the passage with which we now find them connected, Chalcidius makes no reference to these literary denominations: but in affirming that they do not occur in the Arabic version published by Salmasius, Fabricius has fallen into an inadvertency. (*Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. ii. p. 703. edit. Harles.)

2. M. Sevin objects, that the author of the tablature speaks of paper, an invention with which Cebes must have been altogether unacquainted. (*Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* tom. ii.) Pliny has indeed affirmed, that paper was not introduced into Greece till the time of Alexander the Great. (*Naturalis Historia*, lib. xiii. § 11.) M. Sevin and his brethren ought however to have been aware of a controversy which formerly arose with respect to this subject. Melchior Guilandinus, a writer of some reputation, published an ample commentary on that part of Pliny's work which relates to the history of paper. After an examination of various passages in the ancient Greek writers, he finds himself authorized

which even that age did not very frequently attain.

Henry Scrimger, Professor of the Civil Law in the College of Geneva, maintained the reputation of an able civilian and a profound philologer; but a very small portion of his learned labours has been preserved for the benefit of posterity. His edition of the Greek Novells was printed by H. Stephanus in the year 1558: and this is almost the only work which he is known to have committed to the press. He had however prepared editions of various ancient authors; among others, of Demosthenes, Strabo, Polybius, Athe-

to conclude, that before the period specified by Pliny, the Greeks were acquainted with this most important commodity, though it perhaps was not till the age of Alexander, that its utility was generally diffused. (*Comment. in Tria Plinii de Papyro Capita*, p. 20. edit. Venet. 1572, 4to.) Joseph Scaliger, in a style somewhat too acrimonious, afterwards wrote strictures on this commentary of Guilandinus; in which he endeavours, with his usual sagacity, to explode the hypothesis of his antagonist. (Scaligeri *Opuscula*. Paris. 1610, 4to.) The Italian professor, by propagating the *fabula Burdonum*, had excited the violent resentment of Scaliger; who was therefore little disposed to view his speculations with a favourable eye. But in the opinion of a very competent judge, Guilandinus has established the hypothesis which he proposes. Vossius *De Arte Grammatica*, p. 134.) Scaliger however has undoubtedly pointed out several flaws in the texture of his work.

g. Although Cebes, it has also been alleged, was a philosopher of the Socratic school, yet the author of the dialogue which bears his name has rejected the tenets of Socrates, and adopted those of Pythagoras. But if the work were actually found to contain doctrines irreconcilable with those of Socrates, no argument to prove that it was not composed by one of his disciples, could thence be deduced: the author plainly intimates an intention to avail himself of the peculiar tenets of Pythagoras and Parmenides.

næus, the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, and the philosophical works of Cicero. After his decease, which took place in the year 1572, his friend Buchanan requested Christopher Plantin of Antwerp to undertake their impression. This eminent printer expressed his readiness to publish such Latin authors as had been emended and illustrated by so excellent a scholar as Scrimger; but, on account of the troubles which then prevailed, declined entering into any immediate engagement with respect to Greek writers[o]. It does not however appear that any of these meditated editions were ever published. Scrimger's MSS, as well as his library, which Buchanan and Thuanus represent as valuable, were bequeathed to his nephew Sir Peter Young; but with their final destiny I am totally unacquainted. That they are still preserved in some repository, is by no means improbable: and the man who is so fortunate as to redeem them from obscurity, shall assuredly be thought to have merited well from the republic of letters. The erudition of Scrimger was admired by Buchanan, Casaubon, Cujacius, and other exquisite censors of literary desert. Thuanus has inserted a sketch of his life in the history of his own times[p]: and Casaubon repeatedly mentions his philological attainments in terms of high respect[q].

[o] Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 13. edit. Ruddiman.

[p] Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. iii. p. 69.

[q] "Quantùm ad eam rem (secundam scilicet et emendatiorem Poly-

Edward Henryson, Professor of Law in the University of Bourges, was equally celebrated as a civilian and as a humanist[r]. Two of his juridical works have found admission into the great collection of Meerman[s]. During the period under our present review Scotland could boast of several eminent professors of the civil and canon laws; of Scrimger, Henryson, Blackwood, and Barclay: but the history and the principles of our municipal law had not hitherto found a sagacious and learned investigator. Sir John Skene, on whom Dempster has bestowed undue praise[t], was but indifferently qualified for the task which he undertook.

Alexander Hales, Professor of Divinity in the University of Leipzig, was possest of erudition

bii editionem) adjuvare nos tuæ illæ notæ Scrimgerianæ queant, ne dici quidem potest. Nobis res futura est jucundissima, per eum virum proficere, cujus memoriam magnâ veneratione colimus."

CASAUBONI Epistolæ, p. 832.

Scrimger is frequently mentioned in the writings of the eminent civilians. See, among other instances, Heineccius, *Elementa Juris Civilis secundum Ordinem Institutionum*, p. 6, and Albericus Gentilis, *De Juris Interpretibus Dialogi sex*, f. 33. a. Lond. 1582, 4to. Two of his letters occur in Ruddiman's edition of Buchanan: another, addrest to H. Stephanus, appears in the collection of Goldastus, entitled *Philologicarum Epistolarum centuria una Diversorum à renatis literis Doctissimorum Virorum.* Francofurti, 1610, 8vo.

[r] Quesnel's *Bibliotheca Thuana*, tom. ii. p. 7. mentions "Plutarchi Comment. Stoicorum Contrariorum, Eduardo Henrysone interprete." Lugduni, 1555, 8vo. Of this very rare book I have never been so fortunate as to procure a sight.

[s] Meerman. Novus Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici, tom. iii.

[t] Dempster. ad Rosinum, p. 395. b. edit. Amst. 1685, 4to.

which Melanchthon, Beza, and Camerarius, considered as highly respectable. The persecution which prevailed in his native country, constrained him to seek refuge in Germany; where he soon acquired the esteem of many distinguished individuals. His learning and moderation recommended him to the cordial friendship of Philip Melanchthon; a man who possest the same qualities in no ordinary degree. In the *Epistolæ* of this celebrated reformer, Hales is exhibited in a favourable point of view. Joachimus Camerarius, who, according to Scioppius, was the most learned writer of the age [u], has represented him as a man of uncommon dignity, and of exquisite erudition [v]. Beza regards him as one of the principal ornaments of Scotland [w]. And Thuanus commemorates his death as an event of some moment in the republic of letters [x],

[u] Scioppius de Arte Critica, p. 7.

[v] "Accesserunt et alii, et ex Academia Lipsensi Alexander Alesius patriâ Scotus, valde carus Philippo Melanchthoni, rei theologicæ intelligentissimus, et artifex excellens congruentium disputationum, et vir dignitate atque doctrinâ exquisitâ præstans."

CAMERARII Vita Melanchthonis, p. 329.

[w] "Quod Scotia et Anglia neglexerant, arripuit avidissimè Saxonia, ut quæ exceptum Alesium ad mortem usque foverit, doctis omnibus charum, magno illi præsertim Philippo Melanchthoni tam probatum, ut illum sibi præ cæteris ad pacandam Norimbergensem ecclesiam, Osiandri deliriis turbatam adscisceret, solidè videlicet ac sincerè veritatem adversus sophistas tueri consuetum, quod ipsius quoque scripta, pauca quidem illa, sed eruditionis et judicii plena, demonstrant."

BEZÆ Icones Virorum Doctrinâ simul et Pietate Illustrium, sig. F f. 3. Genevæ, 1580, 4to.

[x] Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, tom. ii. p. 466.

Hales and Knox were the most intimate friends of John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, during his temporary residence on the continent [y]. He has dedicated the fourteenth century of his *Scriptores Britanniæ* "to his excellent and dearest brothers in Christ, Alexander Hales and John Knox, men distinguished by their piety and learning."

The writings of Hales, in the opinion of Beza, display much erudition and judgment. They have now become extremely rare [z].

Robert Rollock, the first Principal of the University of Edinburgh, is the author of various theological works; of which Archbishop Spotswood entertained so favourable an opinion, as to wish them republished in a collective form. His name is inserted in Quenstedt's catalogue of illustrious writers [a]. His character seems to have been that of a pious, modest, and learned man.

Such was the progress of Scotish literature from the earliest ages to the period of the union. The

[y] H. H. Heroologia Anglica, p. 166.

[z] A brief sketch, entitled "Alexander Alesius, Scotus, de Edinburgo," occurs in Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia Universalis*, p. 51. Basil. 1559, fol. The different publications of Hales are enumerated, probably with little accuracy, by Dr Mackenzie. (*Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. ii. p. 183.) An account of his life may be found in Mackenzie's work, in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 28. and in Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 402. Lond. 1694, fol.

The Latin name of this writer is *Alesius*. He is termed Aless by Strype, Alesse by Mackenzie, and Alane by Tanner. In Buckley's edition of Thuanus his real name is apparently assigned.

[a] Quenstedt de Patriis Illustrium Virorum, p. 102.

influence of that memorable event on the national genius has been so happily unfolded by Dr Robertson, that it would be superfluous to offer any apology for adopting his observations: "At the very time when other nations were beginning to drop the use of Latin in works of taste, and to make trial of the strength and compass of their own languages, Scotland ceased to be a kingdom. The transports of joy, which the accession at first occasioned, were soon over: and the Scots, being at once deprived of all the objects that refine or animate a people; of the presence of their prince, of the concourse of nobles, of the splendour and elegance of a court, an universal dejection of spirits seems to have seized the nation. The court being withdrawn, no domestic standard of propriety and correctness of speech remained; the few compositions that Scotland produced were tried by the English standard, and every word or phrase that varied in the least from that, was condemned as barbarous; whereas, if the two nations had continued distinct, each might have retained idioms and forms of speech peculiar to itself; and these, rendered fashionable by the example of a court, and supported by the authority of writers of reputation, might have been considered in the same light with the varieties occasioned by the different dialects in the Greek tongue; might have been considered as beauties; and, in many cases, might

have been used promiscuously by the authors of both nations. But, by the accession, the English naturally became the sole judges and lawgivers in language, and rejected as solecisms, every form of speech to which their ear was not accustomed. Nor did the Scots, while the intercourse between the two nations was inconsiderable, and ancient prejudices were still so violent as to prevent imitation, possess the means of refining their own tongue according to the purity of the English standard. On the contrary, new corruptions flowed into it from every different source. The clergy of Scotland, in that age, were more eminent for piety than for learning; and though there did not arise many authors among them, yet being in possession of the privilege of discoursing publicly to the people, and their sermons being too long, and perhaps too frequent, such hasty productions could not be elegant; and many slovenly and incorrect modes of expression may be traced back to that original. The pleadings of lawyers were equally loose and inaccurate; and that profession having furnished more authors, and the matters of which they treat mingling daily in common discourse and business, many of those vicious forms of speech, which are denominated *Scotticisms*, have been introduced by them into the language. Nor did either the language or public taste receive any improvement in parliament, where a more

liberal and more correct eloquence might have been expected. All business was transacted there by the lords of articles, and they were so servilely devoted to the court, that few debates arose; and, prior to the revolution, none were conducted with the spirit and vigour natural to a popular assembly [b]."

Of the state of Scotish literature from the union of the two crowns till that of the two kingdoms, a very unjust estimate has frequently been formed. Its progress during that period was indeed retarded by the circumstances which Dr Robertson has so judiciously traced; but the nation was very far from being so barren in ingenuity and learning as it has sometimes been represented. "Not one writer who does the least credit to the nation," if we may rely on Mr Pinkerton, "flourished during the century from 1615 to 1715, excepting Burnet, whose name would indeed honour the brightest period. In particular no poet whose works merit preservation arose." These unqualified assertions must astonish every one who has examined the subject with any degree of attention: they are at least as consonant to truth as the same author's remark, that "there is not one Greek writer on law." To the period specified by Mr Pinkerton, we may even assign Napier, the celebrated inventor of the logarithms;

[b] Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 196.

to whom, as Mr Hume affirms, the title of a great man is more justly due than to any other whom his country has ever produced [c]. Mr Pinkerton certainly considered the poems of Drummond as worthy of preservation; for he has announced his intention of honouring them with a new edition.

Instead of launching into declamation, I shall endeavour, by cool enquiry, to ascertain the literary pretensions of our countrymen during the interval between the year 1603 and the year 1707.

When King James succeeded to the throne of England, it became fashionable for our poets to write in the language of that country. William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, who died in 1640, is

[c] Napier was born in 1550 and died in 1617. Some of his works were perhaps composed after the year 1615. His *Rhabdologia* was published in 1617: some of his posthumous tracts appeared in 1619.—The following quotation presents Napier in the light of an agriculturist: "The 23 of October, (1598) ane proclamatione of the laird of Merkistoun, that he tuik upone hand to make the land mair profitable nor it wes befoir, be the sawing of salt upone it." (Birrel's *Diary*, p. 47. apud Dalyell.)

Owen has written an epigram in allusion to Napier's famous calculation respecting the duration of the world:

Nonaginta duos durabit mundus in annos;
Mundus ad arbitrium si stat obitque tuum.
Cur mundi finem propiorem non facis? Ut ne
Ante obitum mendax arguere? Sapis.

Audens Epigrammata, p. 46.

the author of a variety of poetical productions, which have always been allowed to possess no inconsiderable share of merit. They are not indeed distinguished by much of the enthusiasm of poetry; but the taste in which they are composed is correct and manly. He may be regarded as one of the writers who at this period contributed to support the reputation of Scotish literature. Sir Robert Aytoun, another accomplished courtier, has also cultivated English poetry: and the specimens with which he has presented us, are such as must induce us to regret their paucity. But these writers must yield the precedency to the celebrated William Drummond of Hawthornden; a poet whose writings continue to be admired in the present age of refinement. Of the repute in which they were formerly held, the following observations of Edward Phillips may enable us to judge: "To say that these poems are the effects of a genius, the most polite and verdant that ever the Scottish nation produced, although it be a commendation not to be rejected, (for it is well known, that that country hath afforded many rare and admirable wits) yet it is not the highest that may be given him; for should I affirme that neither Tasso, nor Guarini, nor any of the most neat and refined spirits of Italy, nor even the choicest of our English poets, can challenge to themselves any advantages above him, it could not be judged any attribute superi-

our to what he deserves; nor shall I thinke it any arrogance to maintain, that among all the severall fancies, that in these times have exercised the most nice and curious judgements there hath not come forth any thing that deserves to be welcom'd into the world with greater estimation and applause: And though he hath not had the fortune to be so generally fam'd abroad, as many others, perhaps, of lesse esteeme, yet this is a consideration that cannot at all diminish, but rather advance his credit; For by breaking forth of obscurity he will attract the higher admiration, and, like the sun emerging from a cloud, appeare at length with so much the more forcible rayes. Had there been nothing extant of him but his History of Scotland, consider but the language, how florid and ornate it is; consider the order, and the prudent conduct of his story, and you will ranke him in the number of the best writers, and compare him even with Thuanus himselfe. Neither is he lesse happy in his verse than prose: for here are all those graces met together that conduce any thing toward the making up of a compleat and perfect poet; a decent and becomming majesty, a brave and admirable height, and a wit so flowing, that Jove himselfe never dranke nectar that sparkled with more spritly lustre [d]."

[d] See the preface to Phillips's edition of *Poems by that most famous wit, William Drummond of Hawthornden.* Lond. 1656, 8vo.—In 1659 the same edition was exhibited with a new and fantastic title; "The most

The number of our countrymen who about this period cultivated English poetry with any degree of success, is inconsiderable; but in the department of Latin poetry they maintained an eminent station among the scholars of the age. Andrew Melvin, Principal of New College, St Andrews, was a frequent writer both of Latin prose and verse. His poetry has been highly commended by Dempster, a man of very different principles. Dempster was himself a poet of sufficient fancy; but neither his prose nor his verse is possest of much elegance. His *Musca* is however one of the few Latin poems, written by natives of Scotland, which the learned Mr Wasse, in his *Memorial concerning the Desiderata in Learning*, has recommended for republication[c]. David Hume of Godscroft also claims a station among poets of this class; but he seldom or never rises above mediocrity. Andrew Ramsay, Professor of Divinity in

elegant and elaborate Poems of that great court-wit, Mr William Drummond: whose labours both in verse and prose being heretofore so precious to Prince Henry and to King Charles, shal live and flourish in all ages whiles there are men to read them, or art and judgment to approve them."

[c] Bibliotheca Literaria, No. iii. p. 11.—Had Mr Wasse been more intimately acquainted with the Latin poetry of Scotland, he would undoubtedly have recommended a much greater number of pieces. His knowledge of our writers was evidently imperfect. The few lines which he has written on the subject of the Scotish poets contain two mistakes. The publication of the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum* he refers to the year 1619; whereas this collection did not appear till 1637. Among other poems, he specifies "Barclai P. Hendicas." From these words it appears that he supposed William Barclay, M. D. to have been the father of John Barclay.

the University of Edinburgh, has been extolled by Lauder as one of the greatest of modern poets: and more impartial judges have represented him as a writer of no mean attainments. His merits are celebrated in one of the epigrams of Johnston: he is also mentioned with commendation in the dissertations of Olaus Borrichius, a learned Danish critic[f]; and, unless my memory deceive me, in Dr Newton's annotations on Milton[g]. The *Virgilius Evangelizans* of Dr Alexander Ross possesses much merit as a cento. But the most distinguished successor of Buchanan in this department of literature was Dr Arthur Johnston; a writer whose purity of diction and suavity of numbers have procured him a high reputation[h]. The dispute which was formerly agitated with respect to the comparative excellence of Buchanan and Johnston, will in all probability never be revived: but a poet may be much inferior to Buchanan, and at the same time much above the vulgar standard. David Wedderburn, the friend of Johnston, and a grammarian of considerable eminence, was also a successful cultivator of this branch of lite-

[f] Borrichii Dissertat. Academ. de Poetis, p. 155.

[g] An elegant edition of Ramsay's *Poemata Sacra* occurs in Lauder's *Delectus Auctorum Sacrorum Miltono Facem Præferentium*. Lond. 1752, 2 tom. 8vo.

[h] "Arturus Jonstonus, in Psalmorum versione, quemadmodum et in operibus ceteris, ubique purus et tersus est, ut ego quidem nihil in illo desiderare possim."

Morhofii Polyhistor, tom. i. p. 1066.

rature[i]. His elegy addrest to Johnston is one of the modern poems particularized by Mr Wasse. Wedderburn is not so generally known as a commentator on one of the Latin poets; but his posthumous edition of Persius, which by the care of his brother Alexander was published at Amsterdam, ought to have secured him a respectable place among our philologers[j]. Sir John Scot, whatever may be the character of his own productions, is entitled to our hearty gratitude for his generous care in preserving those of others. It is to his liberality that we are indebted for the publication of the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*[k]. This

i Wedderburn was Rector of the Grammar-School of Aberdeen: but in affirming that he had the honour of instructing Arthur Johnston, Mr Chalmers is guilty of considerable inaccuracy. (*Life of Ruddiman*, p. 23.) One of Johnston's elegies is addrest to Wedderburn; and from the tenor of the poem it is evident that such a relation as that of preceptor and pupil never subsisted between them. It will be sufficient to produce the following extract:

> Par, memini, cùm noster amor se prodidit, ætas,
> Par genius nobis, ingeniumque fuit:
> Unus et ardor erat, Phœbi conscendere collem,
> Inque jugo summo sistere posse pedem.
> Te prior, infirmis ego nixus in ardua pennis,
> Monstrabam, memini, quâ sequerere viam.

Wedderburn was a classical instructor of considerable reputation. Vossius addresses him as "homo eruditissimus, beneque promerens de studiis juventutis." (Vossii *Epistolæ*, p. 304. Lond. 1690, fol.)

j Persius Enucleatus, sive Commentarius exactissimus et maxime perspicuus in Persium, Poetarum omnium difficillimum, studio Davidis Wedderburni, Scoti, Abredonensis. Opus posthumum. Amst. 1664, 12mo.

k The first volume of this collection contains poems by Archbishop Adamson, Henry Anderson, Sir Robert Aytoun, John Barclay, William

collection reflects no trivial honour on the literary character of the nation; but it is to be regretted that the editor, Dr Johnston, did not exercise greater severity of judgment in selecting the materials.—King, Leech, Panther, and many other Scotishmen who flourished about this period, have also been commended for their Latin poetry. In Scotland this faculty was indeed so common, that when King James visited Perth in the year 1617, several copies of Latin verses were produced by *merchants* or rather tradesmen[1]. The second name which occurs in the list of contributors to the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, is that of Henry Anderson, a merchant in Perth.

Nor in the mean time were other branches of literature neglected. The following enumeration will farther demonstrate the precipitancy of those

Barclay, M. D. Mark Alexander Boyd, Principal Boyd, Sir Thomas Craig, James Crichton, George Crichton, Henry Danskin, Thomas Dempster, LL.D. David Echlin, Peter Goldman, James Halkerston, David Hume, Arthur Johnston, M. D. and John Johnston, D. D. The second contains the contributions of David Kynloch, M. D. Principal Melvin, James Malcolm, Lord Thirlstane, Thomas Maitland, Thomas Murray, Adam King, Thomas Reid, John Rose, Andrew Ramsay, Hercules Rollock, Alexander Ross, D. D. John Scot, Sir John Scot, Thomas Seggat, George Strahan, George Thomson, Florence Wilson, and David Wedderburn.

The most conspicuous contributors to Lauder's collection are Archbishop Adamson, Dr A. Johnston, Principal Boyd, William Hogg, and John Ker, Professor of Humanity at Edinburgh. This collection is entitled *Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ*. Edinb. 1739, 2 tom. 8vó.

[1] Cant's edition of Adamson's Poems, vol. ii. p. 98.

writers who have represented this period as exhibiting a total blank in our literary annals.

William Bellenden, Professor of Humanity in the University of Paris, was one of the most elegant scholars who flourished during the seventeenth century. His three books *De Statu* are known to every man of letters: and it is sufficient praise to say, that they have been found capable of attracting the attention of an editor so accomplished as Dr Parr[m]. On the ingenuity, learning, and taste of Bellenden, this excellent scholar has bestowed unreserved commendation.

Bellenden's posthumous work, *De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum*, though it extends to no fewer than eight hundred and twenty-four pages in folio, is only to be considered as a fragment[n]. The first of these three ornaments of Rome is Cicero; and the other two whom he had in view, are supposed to have been Seneca and the elder Pliny. The apparent object of that portion of his work which is completed, is to combine, in a historical form, such of the observations and sentiments of Cicero as relate to the religious and political affairs of Rome. His plan is executed in such a manner as to display the spirit and essence of the

[m] Gulielmi Bellendeni de Statu libri tres, (ex recensione et cum præfatione Samuelis Parr, LL.D.) Lond. 1787, 8vo.

[n] Gulielmi Bellendeni, Scoti, Magistri Supplicum Libellorum Augusti Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, de Tribus Luminibus Romanorum libri sex-decem. Paris. 1634. fol.

Roman history. The latter part of the work, or that which relates to the times of Cicero himself, is very copious and satisfactory. The Epistles of Cicero have furnished him with a historical detail similar to that exhibited in the biography of Dr Middleton: and Dr Parr has asserted in the strongest terms, that Middleton has not only selected many valuable materials from the production of Bellenden, but, when it suits his purpose, has even retained their form as well as their substance. The critical opinions of Dr Parr are unquestionably of high authority; but the admirers of Middleton may still urge, and with some appearance of reason, that such marks of plagiarism are extremely equivocal. As the materials which he is supposed to have purloined lie scattered through the works of Cicero, they are accessible to every scholar: and as Bellenden and Middleton had nearly the same object in view, it need not excite our astonishment, that two scholars, possest of the same elegance of taste, should conduct their researches on similar principles.

Bellenden has been solicitous to retain the identical expressions of his favourite author; and, by means of a skilful combination, has exhibited a production of no trivial importance. This work, says Dr Parr, displays the highest ingenuity and industry. Whatever in the various writings of Cicero is either sagaciously conceived or elegantly exprest, Bellenden has adapted to one great

plan, and exhibited in a more splendid view. He therefore who is familiarly acquainted with this performance, will be enabled to appreciate the genius of antiquity, and to profit by the examples which it supplies: he will obtain an extensive knowledge of the jurisprudence and political science of the Romans; and, as from a splendid store-house, may select all the varieties of exquisite diction[o].

What plan Bellenden proposed to adopt in relation to Seneca and Pliny, cannot easily be ascertained. It may perhaps be regarded as no absurd conjecture, that, by availing himself of their productions, he intended to exhibit an enlarged view of the physical and intellectual science of the Romans[p].

[o] Parr, Præfat. ad Bellenden, p. lxx.

[p] Of this eminent scholar, the following is the only biographical notice which I have been able to discover: "Gulielmus Bellendenus, sive Ballantinus, honestissimo bonarum artium studio Parisiis inclaruit Professor in Academia, patronus causarum in supremo Galliarum senatu, tum demum Oratoris munere honestatus a principibus suis, Reginæ Mariæ filioque Jacobo fidelem operam navavit; a quo posteriori Magistri Libellorum Supplicum elogio honorifico est donatus. Ejus sunt Princeps Ciceronis, lib. i. Orator Ciceronis, lib. i. Senator Ciceronis, lib. i. In Omnia Ciceronis Opera Observationes, lib. i. Vivit adhuc Lutetiæ, et plura molitur."

DEMPSTER. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 119.

The following notices may also serve as a supplement to those collected by Dr Parr. Bellenden's work *De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum* is mentioned, though in very inaccurate terms, by Philip Labbe (*Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, p. 118.); whose statement has evidently been copied by König, in his *Bibliotheca Vetus et Nova*, p. 97. Altdorf. 1678, fol. His name does not occur in the treatise of Hankius *De Rerum Romanarum Scrip-*

Thomas Dempster, LL.D. Professor of Humanity in the University of Bologna, was another of those scholars who supported the reputation of Scotish literature during the seventeenth century. Whatever may be his character with respect to veracity, his writings confessedly exhibit vestiges of uncommon erudition. His learning, it must however be admitted, was much superior to his sagacity. Archbishop Usher has very properly characterized him as a man of extensive reading, but neither possest of veracity nor of judgment: nor need we suppose with Sir George Mackenzie, that in pronouncing such a decision, this excellent prelate was actuated by resentment, on account of the critical severity with which Dempster has treated his uncle Richard Stanihurst.

The catalogue of Dempster's writings is astonishingly ample: but his most remarkable production is that which he improperly entitles *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum.* Instead of an ecclesiastical history of Scotland, he presents us with a list of Scotish authors and saints. As he composed his work in Italy, where few Scotish books could be procured, it would have been almost impossible for him to proceed with any high degree of accuracy: but many of his errors, as

*tasibus*, nor in that of Jonsius *De Scriptoribus Historiæ Philosophicæ*; though the subjects which he has chosen, and the manner in which he has treated them, ought to have procured him a place in each of their catalogues.

the most charitable of his readers must admit, are not the result of inadvertency, but of an intention to mislead. A more fabulous work never aspired to the character of history: a large proportion of the names which replenish his list is fictitious; and his anecdotes of those writers who actually existed ought always to be received with the utmost caution. In extenuation of his fabulous propensity, it may however be remarked that he lived in an age when such fabrications seem to have been considered as excusable, if not meritorious. National vanity may, at certain æras of literary history, impel men of no depraved disposition to adopt a mode of procedure which a future age is to regard as infamous. Of the moral turpitude of Boyce and Dempster, no sufficient evidence has ever been produced; but, on the contrary, they have generally been represented as men of sincerity and worth [q]. Yet, for the honour of Scotland, they have assumed the privilege of amassing an immense collection of poetical fictions, which they would willingly persuade

[q] Dempster is however represented by the elegant Erythræus as a man of an irritable and even ferocious disposition: "Nescio quo pacto, hâc nostrâ ætate, mansuetissimæ illæ sorores, summâ animi voluntate, complexæ sunt Thomam Dempsterum, Scotum, hominem factum ad bella et contentiones, quippe qui leviter re vel verbo lacessitus, continuò ad arma rixasque decurreret: nullum ferme diem à concertationibus vacuum præterire sinebat, quin videlicet cum aliquo vel ferro decerneret, vel, si ferrum minùs suppeteret, pugnis rem ageret; quo fiebat, ut esset pædagogis omnibus formidabilis." (*Pinacotheca Imaginum Illustrium Doctrinæ vel Ingenii Laude Virorum*, tom. i. p. 24.)

the world to receive as historical truths. The brilliancy of their imagination exceeded the integrity of their understanding: and when the reputation of their native country interfered, they seem to have been nearly incapable of distinguishing truth from falsehood. Nor is Dempster much more fabulous than the earlier literary historians of England; the writings of Leland, Bale, and Pitts, are adorned with many a tale which it is unnecessary to suppose that these authors seriously believed. From a writer who flourished in the eighteenth century, a more judicious production might reasonably have been expected: and yet in the biographical work of Bishop Tanner we find no very wide departure from the inglorious tract of his predecessors. Our countryman Dr George Mackenzie, the cotemporary of Tanner, is a literary historian of a still inferior class: his work is the most shapeless mass of inert matter that ever solicited the attention of the learned world. But the errors and deficiencies of such writers as these are perhaps entitled to a large portion of our indulgence: few judicious models of literary history had hitherto been exhibited; and the materials for the works which these different authors have attempted, must in general have been slight and insufficient. With the same materials, more perfect works might undoubtedly have been formed: but they who have experienced the innumerable difficul-

ties of such undertakings, will probably be disposed to extend abundance of clemency towards Leland, Bale, and their fellow labourers. In this department of literature the British writers have seldom been very successful: among those who have ventured back to more remote æras, the precedency, next to the admirable Warton, is certainly due to Dr Cave; who cannot however be always defended against the charge of negligence and credulity.

Dempster's reputation extended itself to almost every country of Europe; and procured his appointment to different academical chairs. While he was Professor of the Pandects at Pisa, he composed the most elaborate and extensive of his works, the treatise *De Etruria Regali*. His additions to the Roman Antiquities of Rosinus, which are commonly appended under the title of *paralipomena*, discover an extensive acquaintance with ancient authors; but are digested with so little care or with so little skill, that they can only be regarded as a collection of ill-assorted materials. Dempster insinuates, that the principal merit of Rosinus [r] consists in his sedulity of transcription; and the same observation may with great justice be applied to himself. It would not however be easy to name any other Scotish writer

[r] Of Joannes Rosinus, whose personal history is little known, a brief account may be found in Hankius *De Romanarum Rerum Scriptoribus*, p. 265.

who discovers so intimate an acquaintance with classical antiquities. From the labour of antiquarian investigations our countrymen have always been averse. Dempster's *Kalendarium Romanum* is the only tract written by a Scotishman that occurs in the twelve volumes of Grævius[s]. In the year 1595, George Wauchope, Professor of the Civil Law in the University of Caen, had published a tract *De Veteri Populo Romano*[t]. And these two authors, if we except Bellenden, are perhaps the only natives of Scotland who had hitherto written on subjects of Roman antiquities[u].

[s] Grævii Roman. Antiq. Thesaurus, tom. viii. col. 115.

[t] Georgii Vauchopii Scoti de Veteri Populo Romano Tractatus. Cadomi, 1595, 8vo.—Wauchope is also the author of "Observationes ex Historiis Romanis et omnium Gentium." Cadomi, 1598, 8vo.

[u] Thomas Bell, Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh, published a work entitled "Roma Restituta, sive Antiquitatum Romanarum Compendium Absolutum, ex optimis authoribus in usum studiosæ juventutis collectum." Glasg. 1673, 8vo. This is a very brief compendium. After the fourth book, the author has preposterously inserted a *Coronis de Scotorum Strategematis*. Bell's production, though certainly a very ordinary effort of learning, has been extravagantly commended by cotemporary versifiers. Among his other panegyrists, Ninian Paterson has distinguished himself by the warmth of his approbation. (*Epigrammatum libri octo*, p. 71. Edinb. 1678, 12mo.) Paterson's verses may here be produced as a specimen of the encomiastic taste of our ancestors:

Martia Roma, tibi stetit olim gloria bello,
Dum tremuit fasces axis uterque tuos.
Ardua quæ cœlo bello caput extulit olim,
Nunc cecidit bello, vix sit ut umbra qui;
Reliquias dominæ rerum vix cernimus urbis;
In Roma Romam quærimus, urna sui est.

George Cone, the cotemporary of Dempster, has been extolled by Erythræus as a scholar of a highly cultivated and elegant taste[v]. His zealous attachment to the papal interest discovered itself in his writings as well as in his conduct; and accordingly his productions are too deeply tinctured with religious and political prejudices to be much relished during the present age. His life of Queen Mary, and his treatise on the state of religion in Scotland, are however still consulted by more curious enquirers[w]. The latter of

Utque olim cecidit bello, quæ condita bello,
Bello eadem tantum restitui potuit.
Dumque animas urbis doctis simulachra figuris,
Debet Roma suum jam tibi, Belle, decus.

[v] "Georgius Conæus, Scotus,---fuit elegantissimis literis Græcis et Latinis, omnique dignâ homine nobili doctrinâ eruditus."

ERYTHRÆI Pinacotheca, tom. i. p. 132.

[w] The following catalogue of his writings is more complete than that exhibited by Erythræus: "Primitiæ, seu Calumniæ Hirlandorum Indicatæ; et Epos de Deipara Virgine." Bonon. 1621, 8vo. "De Institutione Principis." Regii, 1621, 12mo. "Vita Mariæ Stuartæ, Scotiæ Reginæ." Rom. 1624, 8vo. Wiceburgi, 1624, 12mo. Iterumque apud Jebb. "De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos." Rom. 1628, 4to. "Assertiones Catholicæ." Rom. 1629, 4to. "Carmen in Nuptiis DD. Thaddæi Barbarini et Annæ Columnæ." Rom. 1629, 8vo.

Salmasius, it may be added, speaks of one Conæus as an editor of Solinus. (*Plinianæ Exercitationes*, tom. i. p. 11.)

Leo Allatius enumerates Cone among the illustrious men who were residing at Rome from the year 1630 to the year 1632. (*Apes Urbanæ, sive de Viris Illustribus qui ab anno* 1630 *per totum* 1632 *Romæ adfuerunt, ac typis aliquid evulgârunt*, p. 125. Romæ, 1633, 8vo.) Scioppius seems to represent him as the common friend of Dr Seaton and himself. (*Paradoxa Literaria*, p. 13.)

these works, as Johnston has remarked, is distinguished by a fierce spirit of invective which we must either impute to his native depravity of disposition, or to his anxious devotion to the will of the sovereign pontiff [x]. Of the importance of his character the Roman court seems to have been sufficiently aware; he was sent to reside at London in the capacity of a watchful emissary, and acquitted himself with such ability and address, that his faithful services, had not sudden death intervened, would have been rewarded with a cardinal's hat. On his return towards Rome he died in the city of Genoa, having bequeathed his effects to his patron Cardinal Barbarini [y].

Thomas Seggat has likewise been commended by several foreign writers as a scholar of no common proficiency. He studied at Louvain under the celebrated Justus Lipsius; who has honoured him with a liberal and unreserved testimony to his various merits: "I do hereby certify with my own hand, that Thomas Seggat, a Scotishman by birth and lineage, has been known to me for many years, and even from his early youth has either been my pupil or auditor; that during all that period he has acquitted himself in such a manner as to secure the approbation of good men, and has recommended himself to my esteem by

[x] Johnston. Rerum Britannic. Hist. p. 283.

[y] Erythræi Pinacotheca, tom. i. p. 133. Urquhart's Jewel, p. 118.

his acute and excellent genius, and the ardour of his application to study; and that his progress in every department of elegant and useful learning is such as few students of the same age have equalled. He is unassuming and ingenuous in his manners; and is amply entitled to the affection and esteem of those who are endowed with congenial qualities[z]." On the recommendation of Lipsius, he was received into the family of Pinelli[a], an enlightened and generous patron of literature. He is also mentioned as one of the literary friends of Laurentius Pignorius[b]. Erycius Puteanus has addrest him in several of his *Epistolæ Atticæ*, in a style which seems to indicate a high degree of affection and regard[c]. His Latin poems, which may be found in the second volume of the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*[d], are mentioned by Borrichius in terms of commendation[e]. He appears to have composed several works in prose; but these are of very rare occurrence.

[z] Lipsii Epistolæ ad Italos et Hispanos, epist. lxiii.

[a] Gualdi Vita Joannis Vincentii Pinelli, p. 52. August. Vindelic. 1607, 4to.

[b] Tomasini Elogia Virorum Illustrium, p. 204.

[c] "Eja, mi Segete, æterni sumus. Habeant sibi suas divitias divites, suas voluptates juventus: non invidemus. Erimus quando illi non erunt: erimus quamdiu litteræ erunt, non nomine tantùm, sed luculentâ commendatione doctrinæ ac virtutis."

PUTEANI Epist. Attic. Promulsis, cent. ii. ep. lxi.

[d] Two of Seggat's poems, not inserted in this collection, may be found in *Justi Lipsii, Sapientiæ et Litterarum Antistitis, Fama Posthuma.*

[e] Borrichii Dissertat. Academ. de Poetis, p. 157.

Dr William Seaton, though once admired for his genius and learning by the scholars on the continent, is now scarcely known, even by name, within the limits of his native country. According to Sir Thomas Urquhart, " many learned books were written by this Seaton in the Latin tongue:" but it seems probable that none of them was ever imported into Scotland; nor have I been able to discover their titles in any foreign catalogue. Certain it is however that Dr Seaton enjoyed no vulgar reputation in several of the learned countries of Europe. He is enumerated by Tomasinus among the eminent scholars of the age[f]. He appears to have been one of the intimate friends of the noted Gaspar Scioppius; who has addrest the second epistle of his *Paradoxa Literaria* " Guilhelmo Setonio Scoto Jurisconsulto." In one of the Attic epistles of Puteanus, he is also exhibited in a favourable point of view[g]. If we may venture to credit Urquhart, he was " accounted one of the ablest men that ever breathed." That eccentric writer informs us, that he has " seen him circled about at the Louvre,

[f] Tomasini Parnassus Euganeus, sive de Scriptoribus ac Literatis hujus Ævi Claris, p. 8. Patavii, 1647, 4to.

[g] " Feliciter mi Setoni: quæ probitas, doctrina, elegantia tua est, ostendes omnibus te imprimis dignissimum fuisse, quem et amaret Lipsius, et famæ commendaret. Nunc tu tibi elogium es: loqui non potes, nisi et præstantissimas animi dotes indices. Te quoque quisquis audiet, amabit; quisquis videbit, mirabitur."

PUTEANI Epist. Attic. Cent. Nova, ep. lvii.

with a ring of French lords and gentlemen, who hearkned to his discourse with so great attention, that none of them, so long as he was pleased to speak, would offer to interrupt him; to the end that the pearles falling from his mouth, might be the more orderly congested in the several measures of their judgments: the ablest advocates, barristers, or counsellors at law, of all the parlement of Paris, even amongst those that did usually plead *en la chambre dorée*, did many times visit him at his house, to get his advice in hard debatable points[h]."

George Crichton, Professor of Greek in the University of Paris, is the author of several poems and orations, written in the Latin language. He was formerly regarded as a polite scholar of considerable merit: his hexameters, in the opinion of Borrichius, are more elegant and more poetical than those of the Admirable Crichton[i].

George Thomson, by the publication of his

[h] Urquhart's Jewel, p. 114.

[i] Borrichii Dissertationes Academicæ de Poetis, p. 151. Francof. 1683, 4to.—Whether Dr Robert Crichton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was also a native of Scotland, I have not been able to ascertain. His edition of Sguropulus was published under the following title: "Vera Historia Unionis non Veræ inter Græcos et Latinos; sive Concilii Florentini Exactissima Narratio, Græcè scripta per Sylvestrum Sguropulum: transtulit in sermonem Latinum, Notasque ad calcem libri adjecit Robertus Creyghton." Hagæ Comitum, 1660, fol. His preface, version, and notes, were subjected to a critical examination by Leo Allatius. He is celebrated by N. Heinsius, *Poemata*, p. 202. and by Duport, *Musæ Subsecivæ*, p. 340.

strictures on Lipsius, acquired some degree of celebrity among the learned men of the seventeenth century[j]. His erudition has been acknowledged by Camden[k], Baudius, and other competent judges: but these writers, as well as Joseph Scaliger[l], have in strong terms condemned the illiberal acrimony with which he treats the respectable name of Lipsius. "For Thomson," says Baudius, "I entertain a high degree of affection and esteem, on account of his attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and his uncommon progress in solid learning: but, to confess the truth, I can by no means approve of his immoderate violence and asperity towards Lipsius; of whose *divine virgins* every sensible man is indeed ashamed and weary, but whose character ought to have been treated with more reverence, as that of nearly the greatest genius of the present age; as that of a man who to the utmost of his power has aimed at advancing the glory of letters[m]." Besides this work, Thom-

j Vindex Veritatis adversus Justum Lipsium libri duo. Prior insanam ejus religionem politicam, fatuam nefariamque de Fato, sceleratissimam de Fraude doctrinam refellit. Posterior Ψευδοταφείνι Sichemiensis, id est Idoli Aspricollis, et Deæ ligneæ miracula convellit. Uterque Lipsium ab orco Gentilismum revocasse docet. Auctore Georgio Thomsono, Andreapolitano Scoto-Britanno. Lond. 1606, 8vo.

k Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 71. Lond. 1691, 4to.

l Scaligeri Epistolæ, p. 742.

m Baudii Epistolæ, p. 283.

son wrote several Latin poems, and a book entitled *La Chasse de la Beste Romaine.* He also published a French translation of Napier's exposition of the Revelations.

Alexander Irving is the author of a learned treatise *De Jure Regni*, published at Leyden in the year 1627, and reprinted at Helmstad in the year 1671 with a copious preface by the editor[n]. During the seventeenth century, several other Scotish writers, with no uncommon sagacity indeed, discussed the general principles of politics. Hume's *Apologia Basilica*, and Rutherford's *Lex, Rex*, an English book with a Latin title, are sufficiently known. Wemyss of Craigtoun published a tract *De Regis Primatu*: its composition is scholastic and uninviting; and the work, with at least as much propriety as the compilers of the Justinian Institutes have displayed in alleging the authority of Homer, is interspersed with frequent quotations from the fathers and schoolmen[o]. Irving's production is superior in elegance and learning to that of Wemyss.

Hugh Semple, of the Jesuit College at Madrid, acquired considerable reputation by his critical disquisitions *De Mathematicis Disciplinis;* a work in which he investigates the dignity and antiqui-

[n] Irvini de Jure Regni Diascepsis. Lugd. Bat. 1627, 24to. Helmestad. 1671, 4to.

[o] Wemii Βασιλίων Τυραννὶς, sive de Regis Primatu Libellus. Edinb. 1623, 4to.

ty of the mathematical sciences, and presents us with catalogues of the principal writers on their various branches[p]. But the plan is not executed in such a manner as to satisfy the curious[q].

Dr James Gordon, commonly denominated *Lesmoræus* to distinguish him from another learned Jesuit of the same name, is the author of several works which were received with approbation. Vossius has remarked, that his *Opus Chronologicum*, for which he is chiefly remembered, rather exhibits a historical epitome than intricate disquisitions of chronology[r]. His talents and virtues elevated him to stations of importance; he was successively Principal of the Jesuit Colleges at Thoulouse and Bourdeaux, and was at length appointed Confessor to Lewis the Thirteenth[s].

Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, was perhaps the most learned ecclesiastic of the Presbyterian denomination. A writer

[p] Hugonis Sempilii Craigbaitæi Scoti e Societate Jesu de Mathematicis Disciplinis libri duodecim ad Philippum IV. Hispaniarum et Indiarum Regem Catholicum. Antv. 1635, fol.—Semple is also the author of a work entitled *Exercitia Mathematica*, printed at Madrid in 1642. He repeatedly expresses his intention of publishing a Mathematical Dictionary; but this work, we are informed, he did not live to complete. (Sotvelli *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, p. 354. a Romæ, 1676, fol.) Whether the following notice in one of Principal Baillie's letters to Spang relate to a MS. or to a printed book, appears somewhat dubious: "What you sent us of Jesuit Semple is but a preface to his *Dictionarium Mathematicum*, which we pray you search for." (Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 427.)

[q] Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, tom. iii. p. 205.

[r] Vossius de Scientiis Mathematicis, p. 405.

[s] Sotvelli Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jesu, p. 366. b.

of the same principles has extolled him as a prodigy of erudition. "Mr Robert Baillie," says Wodrow, "may most justly be reckoned among the great men of this time, and was an honour to his country, for his profound and universal learning, his exact and solid knowledge, that vast variety of languages he understood, to the number of twelve or thirteen, and his writing a Latin style which might become the Augustan age." He is the author of several productions in Latin and English; the most important of which is a folio volume, entitled *Opus Historicum et Chronologicum*, published at Amsterdam in 1663, and reprinted in 1668. The most abstruse departments of chronology afforded, during the seventeenth century, a favourite exercise to an illustrious race of literary heroes, whose labours cannot be surveyed without astonishment. Baillie is not entitled to a station near Scaliger, Petavius, and Usher; but his learning is far from being inconsiderable. In foreign countries he appears to have enjoyed some degree of celebrity; he is mentioned by Saldenus as a chronologer of established reputation[t]. In his professional writings, though a man amiable and modest in private life, he displayed the characteristic violence of the times. Concerning the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland he was engaged in a hot dispute with Bishop Maxwell, a turbulent

[t] Saldenus de Libris Varioque eorum Usu et Abusu, p. 179. Amst. 1688, 8vo.

though ingenious prelate, whose restless ambition had a principal share in promoting the dissentions which prevailed during that unhappy æra.

Sir Thomas Urquhart, philologer and soldier, poet and mathematician, was, if we may credit himself, the most extraordinary character that the world has yet produced. "Betwixt what is printed," he remarks, "and what ready for the presse, I have set forth above a hundred severall bookes, on subjects never hitherto thought upon by any[u]." This number is certainly ample enough; but he soon augments it to a wonderful degree: "Had not I been violently pluck'd away by 'the importunity of my creditors', I would have emitted to publick view, above five hundred several treatises on inventions never hitherto thought upon by any[v]." His *Logopandecteision* is intruded as one of these admirable inventions; but the honour of

[u] Urquhart's Introduction to the Universal Language, p. 10.

[v] How many books were *emitted* by Urquhart, I shall not pretend to determine; but the following catalogue of his original works is as complete as I have been able to render it. "Epigrams Divine and Moral." Lond. 1641, 4to. "The Trissotetras; or a most exquisite Table for Resolving all manner of Triangles, whether Plain or Spherical." Lond. 1645, 4to. "Εκσκυβαλαύρον· or the Discovery of a most exquisite Jewel, more precious than Diamonds inchased in Gold, the like whereof was never seen in any age; found in the kennel of Worcester streets, the day after the fight, and six before the Autumnal Æquinox, *Anno* 1651: serving in this place to frontal a Vindication of the Honour of Scotland, from that infamy whereinto the rigid Presbyterian party of that nation, out of their covetousness and ambition, most dissembledly hath involved it." Lond. 1652, 8vo. "Logopandecteision, or an Introduction to the Universal Language." Lond. 1653, 4to.

having first conceived the design of forming a universal language is by no means due to Urquhart. The execution of the same plan had already been recommended by the ingenious Bishop Bedell to one Johnston, a clerygyman of his diocese. "The bishop," says Dr Burnet, "finding the man had a very mercurial wit and a great capacity, he resolved to set him to work, that so he might not be wholly useless to the church; and therefore he proposed to him the composing an universal character, that might be equally well understood by all nations: and he shewed him, that since there was already an universal mathematical character, received both for arithmetick, geometry, and astronomy, the other was not impossible to be done. Johnston undertook it readily; and the bishop drew for him a scheme of the whole work, which he brought to such perfection, that, as my author was informed, he put it under the press, but the rebellion prevented his finishing it[w]." Urquhart's scheme of a universal language seems to have excited very little curiosity: and indeed it can only be regarded as one of the incoherent dreams of learning.

His *Discovery of a most Exquisite Jewel* includes a rhapsodical and bombastic vindication of the Scotish nation, interspersed with anecdotes and characters of some of our most eminent scholars and

[w] Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 78. Lond. 1685, 8vo.

warriors. Those who consult the work in the hope of meeting with solid or accurate information, will undoubtedly be disappointed; but the writer's enthusiastic attachment to his native country renders even his wildest flights interesting.

His translation of the first three books of Rabelais has procured him higher applause than his other productions. It is remarked by Mr Motteux that he possessed learning and fancy equal to the task which he had undertaken; and that his version preserves the very style and air of the original[x].

Urquhart was undoubtedly possest of a lively fancy, and of no inconsiderable portion of learning; but his compositions seem to betray some latent sparks of lunacy. His own praise is one of the topics on which he is apt to expatiate in extravagant terms. The *Jewel*, written under an assumed character, contains many high encomiums on the real author, and represents him as endowed with qualities which no man is readily allowed to ascribe to himself. His attempt to trace his own lineage to the æra of the creation, affords a ludicrous specimen of vanity. Many of his reveries serve to remind us of the chivalrous philosopher Lord Herbert: and he appears to have been equally prompt to engage in

[x] See Lord Woodhouselee's Principles of Translation, p. 395.

fantastic quarrels. "As the heart," says Urquhart, "is *primum vivens*, so was it my heart which, in my younger years, before my braines were ripened for eminent undertakings, gave me the courage for adventuring in a forrain climat, thrice to enter the lists against men of 3 severall nations, to vindicate my native country from the calumnies wherewith they had aspersed it; wherein it pleased God so to conduct my fortune, that after I had disarmed them, they in such sort acknowledged their error and the obligation they did owe me, for sparing their lives, which justly by the laws of arms I might have taken, that in lieu of three enemies, that formerly they were, I acquired three constant friends, both to myselfe, and my compatriots, whereof by severall gallant testimonies they gave evident proofe, to the improvement of my countreys credit in many occasions[y]."

Sir George Mackenzie belongs to the numerous class of writers who have at first been extravagantly commended, and afterwards neglected or contemned. He has written on a great variety of subjects; and has occasionally displayed considerable ability. His English style is superior to that of many of his cotemporaries; and his Latinity, though not distinguished by much elegance, is far from being despicable. Such of his writings as relate to Scotish antiquities, are of very

[y] Urquhart's Introduction to the Universal Language, p. 10.

little value: when he entered the lists against Lloyd and Stillingfleet, he appears to have formed a very erroneous estimate of his own strength. His juridical works have not been completely superseded.

Whatever may be the fate of Mackenzie's productions, his name will always be gratefully remembered by those who have experienced the value of the Advocates Library; a noble institution for which we are primarily indebted to his exertions. The original principles of this institution were indeed of a less liberal nature: what has at length become a public benefit, was at first a private foundation for the exclusive use of that very learned body the faculty of advocates[z].

Sir Thomas Craig is known in every enlightened country of Europe as the author of an admirable work on the feudal law. He also cultivated polite literature; and produced various Latin poems which have been mentioned in commendatory terms by critical writers. Several of his unpublished works are preserved in the libraries at Edinburgh[a].

[z] Mackenzie, Oratio Inauguralis in Aperienda Jurisconsultorum Bibliotheca.

[a] This eminent feudalist is generally styled Sir Thomas Craig; though the title was not regularly conferred upon him. As a reward of his literary merit, James the Sixth had determined to elevate him to the rank of knighthood: but instead of coveting the distinction, which about that time had lost much of its former dignity, Craig secretly withdrew himself in order to avoid the intended ceremony. The king however commanded, that for the future he should constantly be treated as a knight:

Among the principal Scotish historians who flourished during this period, we may perhaps venture to class Robert Johnston, LL. D. the author of a very copious history of Great Britain from the year 1572 to the year 1628[b]. His Latinity is not remarkable for its purity; and his style is evidently deficient in chastness. He appears however to have been a scholar of some erudition: and his merits have not perhaps been sufficiently acknowledged. The formidable aspect of his production may be the chief cause of the neglect which it has experienced. His frequent digressions into the cotemporary history of other nations render the work prolix, without adding much to its real value.

John Spotswood, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Chancellor of Scotland, may also be enumerated among the writers who have supported the

and accordingly his name has generally been accompanied with a title which he himself despised.—See R. Burnet's preface to Craig's *Jus Feudale*, Edinb. 1655, fol.

b Johnstoni Rerum Britannicarum Historia. Amst. 1655, fol.—The work extends to twenty-two books. The first two had been published at Amsterdam, in 1642, during the author's life: and of these an English translation appeared at London in 1646. The initials of the translator's name are T. M.; which probably denote Thomas Middleton, author of the *Appendix to Spotswood's History*.

Respecting Johnston himself very little is known. Dempster informs us, that he was a favourite at the court of James the Sixth. His editor styles him "vir bonus ac honestus;" and this simple character is preferable to the most elaborate encomium. He bequeathed a part of his books to the University of Edinburgh: but what T. M. has asserted with respect to his endowment of fellowships in the same university, is completely erroneous.

dignity of Scotish literature. His celebrated *History of the Church of Scotland* is equal to any historical work which had hitherto been composed in the English language[c]. To his eminent candour he unites a considerable portion of critical sagacity: and his work is free from the pedantry which at that period infested the literature of both kingdoms. His style is simple, and not entirely devoid of elegance. Against the imputation of credulity he cannot indeed be uniformly defended: but from credulity what historian of that age is altogether free? At a more recent period, Echard has gravely acquainted his readers with a conference which took place between the Devil and Oliver Cromwell[d].

Dr Gilbert Burnet, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, has been classed by every impartial judge among the principal British writers of the seventeenth century. It may indeed be granted that he frequently departs from the dignity of history; but his literary character is far from be-

[c] Spotswood is also the author of a work entitled *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*. Lond. 1620, 8vo. The writer whom he undertakes to refute is David Calderwood; who was not backward in replying to his answer. See Calderwood's *Altare Damascenum*, &c. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1708, 4to.—Calderwood, who appears to have been a man of a rude and morose disposition, is frequently mentioned by Principal Baillie in terms of disapprobation. He is satirized in Dr Duport's *Musæ Subsecivæ, seu Poetica Stromata*, p. 149. Cantab. 1676, 8vo.

[d] See Dr Middleton's Free Inquiry, p. 219.

ing such as it has been represented by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot[e].

Philosophy and literature are intimately connected; but the mathematical sciences are sufficiently distinct from both. The task of appreciating the merits of the Scotish mathematicians shall be left to some more able investigator[f].

That during the period under our review, philosophy was much indebted to the exertions of our countrymen, cannot safely be affirmed: it was however cultivated by a few individuals whose names are too considerable to be completely forgotten.

Robert Balfour, Principal of Guyenne College, Bourdeaux, is mentioned by Morhof as a cele-

[e] Dr Burnet, although he wrote in the English language, enjoyed no mean reputation on the continent. Le Clerc, in the dedication of his Latin version of Stanley's history of oriental philosophy, extols him in a high strain of panegyric: "Ii præcone indigent amico, quorum laudes obscuræ ex solis umbraticis studiis, aut privatâ ratione vitæ efflorescunt; non qui, post edita immortalia opera, et stylo navatam puriori religioni fidelissimam operam, amplissimis ac celeberrimis regnis, quibus divina aut humana omnia jura pænè jam erant erepta, instauratorem, sospitatorémque, Europâ plaudente, quæsiverunt et feliciter invenerunt." Ernesti, in his tract *De Fide Historica rectè Æstimanda*, styles him "elegantissimus rerum Britannicarum auctor." (Ernesti *Opuscula Philologica et Critica*, p. 79.)

[f] Hugh Semple mentions Napier and Anderson as the most eminent of the Scotish mathematicians: "In Scotia Neperus logarithmos et rhabdologiam excogitat, Andersonus omnibus nervis geometriam adornat." (*De Mathematicis Disciplinis*, p. 6. a.)

Gassendi informs us, that in the year 1592, one Craig, a Scotish physician, published a tract against Tycho Brahe, under the title of *Capnuraniæ*

brated commentator on the philosophy of Aristotle[g]. His writings display an extent of erudition which reflects honour on the literary history of his country[h]. Balfour, says Dempster, was the Phœnix of the age; a philosopher profoundly skilled in the Greek and Latin languages; a mathematician worthy of being compared with the ancients. And to these qualifications he joined a

*Restinctio, seu Cometarum in Æthera Sublimationis Refutatio*; and that an answer to it was written by Christianus Longomontanus. (*Vita Tychonis Brahei*, p. 154. 183. Paris. 1654, 4to.) Tycho Brahe himself published a *Responsio Apologetica ad quendam Scotum Aristotelicum Philosophum, et Medicum Galenicum*. Duncan Liddell, M.D. was also engaged in a controversy with the great Danish astronomer: and, according to Sir Thomas Urquhart, "the understanding reader could not but have ---- praised Tycho Brahe most for astronomy, and Liddel for his knowledge above him in all the other parts of philosophy." (Urquhart's *Jewel*, p. 126.) Dr Liddell is the author of several medical works. He is celebrated in the Latin poems of Wedderburn.

g "Præclarus ille Aristotelis interpres ---- Scotus est natione, planamque viam insistit, et Aristotelem ex seipso explicat, non pauca elegantioris literaturæ aspergens."

MORHOFII Polyhistor, tom. ii. p. 104.

h The following works of Balfour I have had an opportunity of examining in the Advocates Library: "Gelasii Cyziceni Commentarius Actorum Nicæni Concilii. Roberto Balforeo interprete," &c. *In Bibliopolio Commeliniano*, 1604, fol. "Cleomedis Meteora Græce et Latine. A Roberto Balforeo ex MS. Codice Bibliothecæ Ill. Card. Joyosii multis mendis repurgata, Latine versa, et perpetuo commentario illustrata." Burdigalæ, 1605, 4to. "Commentarius R. Balforei in Organum Logicum Aristotelis." Burd. 1616, 4to. "R. Balfourei Scoti Commentariorum in lib. Arist. de Philosophia, tomus secundus: quo, post Organum Logicum, quæcumque in libris Ethicorum occurrunt difficilia, dilucidè explicantur." Burd. 1620, 4to. Whether this catalogue of his productions might be enlarged, I know not.

wonderful suavity of manners, and the utmost warmth of affection towards his countrymen[i].

Dr Mark Duncan, Principal of the College of Saumur, is the author of a system of logic which has frequently been reprinted[j]; and which Burgersdicius, a noted logician, has mentioned in terms of high approbation[k]. Among the scholars on the continent Duncan enjoyed a very considerable degree of celebrity. Tomasinus classes him among the distinguished literary characters of the age[l]. Menage, referring to his French book on the subject of the Devils of Loudun, terms him a celebrated physician of Saumur[m]. Joseph Scaliger mentions him in a way which seems to indicate no common respect; speaking of the west of Scotland, he particularizes it as the district which produced Duncan and Buchanan[n].

Walter Donaldson, Principal of the College of Sedan, maintained, in the opinion of Bayle, a respectable station among the learned men of the seventeenth century. His *Synopsis Oeconomica* is

i Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 119.

j The third edition I have seen. It bears the following title: "Institutionis Logicæ libri quinque, in usum Academiæ Salmurensis tertiùm editi, ut erant ab auctore recogniti." Salmur. 1643, 8vo. Prefixed is a copy of Latin verses, written by his son Mark Duncan; a man afterwards celebrated under the name of M. de Cérizante.

k Burgersdicii Præf. ad Institut. Logic.

l Tomasini Parnassus Euganeus, p. 8.

m Menagiana, tom. ii. p. 254.

n Prima Scaligerana, p. 33.

a production which may still be perused with advantage[o].

Dr Robert Baron, Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen, composed several philosophical works which have been admired for their acuteness and perspicuity. His *Metaphysica* was formerly used as a text-book in some of the foreign universities: and an edition of it was published by Antonius Clementius, the editor of the *Epistolæ* of Salmasius[p].

Dr William Chalmers, who resided in France, and was a Priest of the Congregation of the Oratory, is mentioned by the learned Du Pin as the author of various compositions on subjects of philosophy and theology[q]. He also published a collection of some treatises of the fathers which had not formerly been printed[r]. The religious order to which Dr Chalmers belonged has been commemorated by D'Alembert as the only one which could hope to rival the Jesuits in science and literature; as the only regular congregation which had produced a single philosopher[s].

[o] Bayle, Diction. Hist. et Crit. tom. ii. p. 303.

[p] R. Baronii, theologi ac philosophi celeberrimi, Metaphysica Generalis: accedunt nunc primùm quæ supersunt ex Parte Speciali; opus posthumum ex museo Antonii Clementii Zirizæi. Lugd. Bat. 1657, 8vo.

[q] Dr Chalmers is more generally known among his countrymen as the author of a work entitled *Scoticanæ Ecclesiæ Infantia, Virilis Ætas, Senectus.* Paris. 1643, 4to.

[r] Du Pin, Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclesiast. tom. xvii. p. 194.

[s] D'Alembert sur la Destruction des Jesuites, p. 26.

Dr Alexander Ross, a clergyman of Aberdeen, is the author of some philosophical productions which were once admired by his countrymen. But at present he is more frequently remembered as an object of Butler's satire, than as a philosopher, a divine, or a poet. The following verses of *Hudibras* are familiar to almost every reader:

> There was an ancient sage philosopher
> That had read Alexander Ross over;
> And swore, the world, as he could prove,
> Was made of fighting and of love.

Dr Ross however was undoubtedly a writer of ingenuity and of learning: and his respectable character as a man ought at all events to have secured him from the petulance of wit. Sir Thomas Urquhart styles him a "most learned and worthy gentleman, and most indeared minion of the Muses, who hath written manyer excellent books in Latine and English, what in prose, what in verse, than he hath lived yeers[t]." His Latin poetry has been commended by Olaus Borrichius[u]: and the value of his compendious *View of all Religions* was so generally acknowledged, that the work was speedily translated into Italian, French, and German[v].

Thomas Reid, Latin Secretary to James the

[t] Urquhart's Jewel, p. 108.

[u] Borrichii Dissert. Acad. de Poetis, p. 157.

[v] Morhofii Polyhistor, tom. ii. p. 541.

Sixth, enjoyed a considerable share of reputation among his cotemporaries; but at present his name is hardly recognized as that of a poet and philosopher. He published a collection of metaphysical theses which he had maintained in the University of Rostoch: and in these, according to one of the members of that learned body, he displays no ordinary talents. Nicolaus Willebrandus, the author of *Exercitationes de Vitæ Politicæ Principiis*, has complimented him in a friendly copy of verses, which close with the following unprophetical suggestion:

> Macte tuâ virtute, tibi, tibi postera plaudent,
> Si nimis invidiâ secula nostra flagrant.
> Præmia quæ meritis hodierna negaverit ætas,
> Fœnere fortè sequens uberiore dabit[w].

The family from which Reid descended, has been distinguished for its love of science and literature; and at a later period could boast of another philosopher[x], whose reputation, it may be presumed, will not so speedily decay.

While Dempster, Cone, D. Chalmers, Urquhart, and Mackenzie, were struggling to maintain the honour of Scotland, by inventing new or by propagating old fables, there were other writ-

[w] Rhædi de Objecto Metaphysicæ Dissertatio Elenctica, sig. t. 4. Rostochii, 1610, 4to.

[x] Stewart's Life of Dr Reid, p. 4.

ers who contributed more effectually to the same design, by the zeal and learning which they displayed in the cause of truth. The most eminent theologians of whom Scotland could at this time boast, were Cameron, Baron, Forbes, Leighton, and Burnet.

John Cameron, whom the impartiality of foreigners has distinguished as a theologian of consummate erudition, made such rapid progress in his studies, that at the age of about twenty years, he was appointed Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow. This language he is said to have spoken with wonderful facility[y]. Being seized with the desire of visiting foreign countries, he soon relinquished his situation; and, in the year 1600, passed over to France, the favourite region of Scotish wanderers. After spending eighteen years in several of the continental universities, both as a student and as a public teacher, he was with great applause admitted Professor of Divinity in the College of Saumur, one of the chief seminaries of the French Protestants. Such, while he continued in this eminent station, was his celebrity as a public lecturer, that he was frequently honoured with the attendance of Philip Mornay. Cameron's works are numerous, and

[y] "Græcè enim tam expeditè et eleganter quàm quivis alius Latinè extempore loquebatur; ita ut doctissimis viris quos ubique convenit, adeoque et ipsi magno Casaubono, (cui paulo post fuit notissimus) admirationi esset, fueritque charissimus."

CAPELLI Icon J. Cameronis.

replete with erudition[a]. His *Myrothecium Evangelicum* has received no slight commendation from a writer who cannot be suspected of partiality. In this work, says Father Simon, he discovers an intimate acquaintance with the principles of criticism, and an exact knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. These qualifications have enabled him to exhibit a learned elucidation of the literal and grammatical sense of many passages in the sacred books which he professes to illustrate[a].

Dr Baron was one of the chief ornaments of the University of Aberdeen at a time when it abounded with men of ingenuity and learning[b]. His works, which are allowed to display much

[a] Cameron's *Prælectiones* were printed at Saumur in three volumes quarto. The first volume appeared in 1626, the second and third in 1628. This collection includes some of his miscellaneous tracts. A more complete edition of his works was afterwards published under the title of "Joannis Cameronis Scoto-Britanni theologi eximii τα Σωζομενα." Genevæ, 1642, fol. Several of the tracts contained in this collection were originally published in French. The editor is said to have been Frederic Spanheim. (Colomiés, *Bibliothéque Choisie*, p. 73.) Neither of these editions includes Cameron's *Myrothecium Evangelicum*, a posthumous work published by Ludovicus Capellus, one of the most celebrated of his scholars. It was printed at Geneva in quarto in the year 1632. Capellus has prefixed an account of the author's life, which may also be found in Spanheim's edition of Cameron. A more copious life of Cameron occurs in Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tom. ii. p. 31.

[a] Simon, Histoire Critique des Principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament, p. 781. a.

[b] "Et quis," says Clementius, "Baronium ignoret, tot theologorum pridem ac philosophorum laudibus decantatum? *Philosophiam Theologiæ Ancillantem* quis est qui non efferat? utilitatem, perspicuitatem, extollat?" (*Præf. ad Baronii Metaphys.*)

acuteness and erudition, have frequently been reprinted. The name of Baron is familiar to the readers of the poetical works of his elegant friend Dr Arthur Johnston.—The many high encomiums which have been bestowed on his colleague Dr William Lesley, Principal of King's College, must excite our deepest regret, that he should have bequeathed so small a portion of his knowledge to posterity. Although he was regarded as a profound and universal scholar, he never courted the fame of authorship. His fragment of a dissertation on Cassiodorus, published in Dr Garden's life of Forbes, affords but a slight indication of what he might have effected.

Dr John Forbes, Professor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, is the author of several works which discover a wide extent of erudition. His learning was such as to obtain the warm approbation of those eminent scholars Vossius, Usher, Morhôf, Ernesti, and Cave[c]: and to this it would be superfluous to add any other commendation. His writings continued to be held in such estima-

[c] "Denique cum plura non capit instituti nostri ratio, unicum adhuc lectori scriptorem commendabo. Is est Joan. Forbesius, Scoto-Britannus, qui *Instructiones Historico-Theologicas* de doctrina Christiana et vario rerum statu, ortisque erroribus et controversiis, jam inde a temporibus Apostolicis, lib. xvi. edidit Amstælod. 1645, f. Opus, si quid in his studiis possit, quantivis pretii, et antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ studiosis apprimè utile, multò utilius futurum, si modo ad telam, quam orsus erat pertexendam, longiorem lucis usuram eruditissimo autori Deus non denegasset."

CAVE, Historia Literaria, p. xxx.

tion, that a complete and elegant edition was published by Henry Wetstein many years after the death of the amiable author[d]. It includes the encomiums of several foreign professors, and a copious life of Forbes, written by Dr George Garden.

The family of Forbes was at this time highly distinguished for its piety and erudition. Dr Forbes's father, the venerable Bishop of Aberdeen, is remembered as the author of a commentary on the Revelation: and his relation Dr William Forbes, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, has often been celebrated as a man of superior ingenuity and learning. Of his eloquence Dr Johnston speaks in terms of high admiration:

Omnia mel vincit dulcedine; sidera lucem
Præ reliquis, robur missile fulmen habet.
Eloquium si quis Forbesî comparet istis,
Mel fatuum, nigra sunt sidera, fulmen hebes.

He "was so able a scholar," says Urquhart, "that

[d] Of this edition one volume appeared in 1702, the other in 1703. Another folio edition of the *Instructiones* had been printed at Geneva in 1680. Arnoldus Montanus, the editor of Cæsar, published an abridgement of Dr Forbes's great work under the title of *Forbesius Contractus*. Amst. 1663, 8vo.

Dr Forbes was born in 1593; studied in the Universities of Aberdeen, Heidelberg, &c.; was appointed Professor of Divinity in King's Coll. Aberdeen, in 1619; was superseded by the Presbyterians in 1641; retired to Holland in 1644; returned to Scotland in 1646; and died in 1648.

since the days of *Scotus Subtilis*, there was never any that professed either divinity or philosophy in Scotland, that in either of those faculties did parallel him[e]." Bishop Burnet's encomium is of superior value: "He was a grave and eminent divine: my father, that knew him long, and being of council for him in his law matters, had occasion to know him well, has often told me, that he never saw him but he thought his heart in heaven, and he was never alone with him but he felt within himself a commentary on these words of the apostles, 'Did not our hearts burn within us, while he yet talked with us, and opened to us the Scriptures?' He preached with a zeal and vehemence that made him often forget all the measures of time; two or three hours was no extraordinary thing for him[f]." The reputation which attached itself to him during his life, was not supported by his familiarity with the press: the only publication of which he is the author, did not appear till upwards of twenty years after his death[g].

Dr Robert Leighton, Principal of the Univer-

[e] Urquhart's Jewel, p. 133. edit. Edinb. 1774, 12mo.

[f] Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedell, pref.

[g] "Considerationes Modestæ et Pacificæ Controversiarum, de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum et Christo Meditatore, Eucharistia." Lond. 1658, 8vo. The editor of this posthumous work subscribes himself T. G. These initials seem to point out Dr Thomas Gale, the celebrated Grecian.—The prefixed life of Bishop Forbes is evidently written in a style very different from that of the preface.

sity of Edinburgh, and afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, maintained in Scotland, says Dr Burnet, "the highest reputation that any man in my time ever did in that kingdom." His reputation was well-founded: as a man, his character seems to have approached the very brink of perfection; as a scholar, he displays accomplishments which seldom fell to the share of his cotemporaries. In an age when priestly violence prevailed in all its hideousness, he exhibited a model of Christian meekness and purity: in an age when the schools were still infested with an useless and vile jargon, he endeavoured to inspire his seminary with the love of true wisdom. In his exhortations to the students, he seems to have embraced every opportunity of exposing the futile philosophy and spurious theology which then prevailed. "Fly," says he, "if you have any regard to my advice, fly far from that disputatious theology which consists of a mere strife concerning words, and which rather deserves the name of vain and foolish talking."—"You are now initiated into the philosophy, *such as it is*, which prevails in the schools."—"But you are now philosophers; and, in the midst of these afflictions, you perhaps solace yourselves with the hidden treasures of the sciences which you have acquired. The sciences! Tell us in what part of the earth they are to be found. Acquaint us with the place of their residence, in order that we may resort thither in crouds. I know indeed

where there is a din of idle words, and a collision of jarring opinions: I know where ignorance, furnished with a beard and a gown, usurps the name of science; but where true science resides, I know not[h]."

Leighton's English as well as his Latin style seems entitled to considerable praise. Burnet affirms, that "he had the greatest command of the purest Latin that ever he knew in any man[i]." The following quotation from one of his sermons will serve to evince, that the taste of the Scotish divines was not, during this period, so barbarous as it has commonly been represented: "All men agree in this, that they would willingly meet with some satisfying good; and yet if you look right upon the projects and labours of the greatest part, you shall find them flying from it, and taking much pains to be miserable. And truly, considering the darkness that is upon the soul of man, it is no great wonder to see these miss their way and continue wandring that hear not the voice of the gospel to recall them, and see not its light to

[h] These passages are translated from Leighton's "Prælectiones Theologicæ in Auditorio Publico Academiæ Edinburgenæ (dum Professoris Primarii munere ibi fungeretur) habitæ; unà cum Paræneſibus in Comitiis Academicis ad Gradûs Magistralis in Artibus Candidatos: quibus adjiciuntur Meditationes Ethico-Criticæ in Psalmos iv. xxxii. cxxx." Lond. 1693, 4to. An English translation of the prelections and exhortations was afterwards published with the title of "Theological Lectures read in the Publick Hall of the University of Edinburgh," &c. Lond. 1763, 8vo.

[i] Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 134.

direct them. But this is somewhat strange, that where true happiness, and the true way to it, is propounded and set before men, so few should follow it in good earnest. If the excellency of that good did not allure them, yet one would think that their many disappointments in all other things should drive them home to it. How then do we run ourselves out of breath after shadows? And when we think we have overtaken them, and would lay hold on them, we find nothing. And yet still we love to befool ourselves, even against our own experience, which, we say, uses to make fools wiser. Still we chuse rather to shift from one vanity to another, than to return to that sovereign good that alone can fill the vastest desires of our souls; or rather to run from one broken cistern to another, as the prophet calls them, yea and to take pains to hew them out, than have recourse to that fountain of living waters[j]." Archbishop Leighton, it will be recollected, died in the year 1684.

The writings of this most exemplary prelate breathe the genuine spirit of Christianity. His English compositions still maintain their popularity; they have been partially reprinted within the space of a few years[k]. Dr Charters classes

[j] Leighton's Select Works, p. 93.

[k] Leighton's Expository Works, with other Remains. Edinb. 1798, 2 vols. 8vo.

them " among the best devotional and practical treatises that are any where to be found."

The character of Bishop Burnet as an able theologian has long been firmly established. He is mentioned in terms of high applause by Lord Shaftesbury, a rigid censor of literary merit :— " The Bishop of Salisbury's exposition of the articles is, no doubt, highly worthy of your study. None can better explain the sense of the church than one who is the greatest pillar of it since the first foundation ; one who best explain'd and asserted the reformation it self; was chiefly instrumental in saving it from Popery before and at the Revolution ; and is now the truest example of laborious, primitive, pious, and learned episcopacy[1]." This encomium, it will be recollected, proceeded from the pen of a virtuous Deist.

The seventeenth century produced other theologians, whose names, though of inferior note, ought not to be past over in total silence.

Dr James Gordon, of the noble family of Huntley, acquired considerable celebrity by the publication of his *Controversiarum Christianæ Fidei Epitome*. Dr Geddes has commemorated this Jesuit as " one of the most acute and artful adversaries of the present Hebrew text. It was to oppose his little tract *De Verbo Dei* that Glassius wrote his

[1] Shaftesbury's Letters to Molesworth, p. 28.

*Philologia Sacra.* Gordon's stile is clear and concise, and his arguments generally conclusive. It must be confessed, however, that he extols the Vulgate above measure, and advances some unsupportable propositions[m]." George Turnbull, another Jesuit, is celebrated by the literary historians of the order as a man equally distinguished by his virtue and by his learning[n]. He entered into a controversy with Dr Baron; which, in the opinion of their cotemporaries, was conducted with great ability on each side. Robert Boyd of Trochrig, successively Principal of the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, is also entitled to a place in the present catalogue. His prelections on St Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, delivered in the College of Saumur, are considered as a respectable monument of his learning[o]. He is known to the lovers of polite literature as the author of a poem, entitled *Ad Christum Servatorem Hecatombe*, inserted in the collections of Johnston and Lauder. His epigram " In Reverendi viri D. Andreæ Riveti, amici primarii, et SS. Theologiæ Professor-

[m] Geddes's Prospectus of a New Translation of the Bible, p. 9.

[n] Sotvelli Biblioth. Scriptor. Societ. Jesu, p. 296. b.

[o] Bodii in Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios Prælectiones supra CC. Lond. 1652, fol.—This posthumous work, which consists of no fewer than one thousand two hundred and thirty-six ample pages, was published by his son John. Prefixed is a life of the author by the celebrated Andrew Rivet, with whom he had been familiarly acquainted. The preface, which is subscribed R. B. was probably furnished by Principal Baillie. The work is also accompanied with Latin verses by David Leech, Zachary Boyd, and others.

is eximii, Effigiem ære scitissime incisam," which Rivet has inserted in his life of Boyd, may perhaps be acceptable to some readers:

Post quinas decies divinæ frugis aristas,
En quàm vernus adhuc ora serenat honor!
En quàm servat adhuc primævam testa nitorem!
Cui Deus æternas addidit intus opes,
Nobilis hospitio ne deforet hospes amœno,
Dissona nec tantus tecta teneret herus.
Quàm bene mens animo certat, manus æmula voci,
Vitaque calligraphum prævolat alta manum!
Epthea nec virtus, pietasque, et rara supellex
Doctrinæ, ingenii flexanimusque vigor,
Delegisse larem poterant ubi suaviùs almâ
Concinuit ingenitus cum gravitate lepos.
Sola erat excelso tantarum culmine laudum
Clara priùs tali sole Thoarsa minor.
Ergo tuos meritò nunc Leida intermicat ignes,
Hæc nova laurigeri palma decusque chori:
Lucis inocciduæ toto jubar orbe futura,
Debuit haud alio stella micare polo.

Dr Thomas Young, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, was the principal writer of *Smectymnuus*[p], and the author of *Dies Dominica*, a learned treatise on the observance of the Christian sabbath. But he is chiefly remembered as the private tutor of Milton; who seems to have regarded him with a high degree of affection and reverence[q]. The lan-

[p] Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 305.

[q] It is not unworthy of remark that Milton and Usher, perhaps the greatest names of which England and Ireland can boast, were indebted

guage in which Milton addresses him in two of his familiar epistles, is strongly expressive of these sentiments[r]: and in the fourth of his elegies, he apparently represents himself as indebted to Dr Young for his initiation into the art of poetry:

Primus ego Aonios illo præeunte recessus
Lustrabam, et bifidi sacra vireta jugi;
Pieriósque hausi latices, Clióque favente,
Castalio sparsi læta ter ora mero.

Dr John Strang, Principal of the University of Glasgow, is celebrated as "a man of great parts, extraordinary subtilty, and of a most solid reason[s]." Dr David Stuart, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Leyden, maintained a respectable character in a country which abounded with scholars of the first order. He was the

to Scotishmen for their initiation into classical literature. See Mr Warton's excellent notes on Milton, p. 440. and Dr Richard Parr's *Life of Archbishop Usher*, p. 3. Lond. 1686, fol.—Isaac Casaubon employed a Scotish preceptor for his son Meric. This was James Wedderburn, afterwards Professor of Divinity at St Andrews. (*M. Casauboni Pietas*, p. 131.)

[r] "Deum enim testor," says Milton, "quàm te instar patris colam, quàm singulari etiam observantiâ te semper prosecutus sim, quàmque veritus chartis meis obstrepere." (*Epistolæ Familiares*, p. 8. Lond. 1674, 8vo.)

[s] Dr Strang is the author of the following works, which were not published till after his death: *De Voluntate et Actionibus Dei circa Peccatum*. Amst. 1657, 4to. *De Interpretatione et Perfectione Scripturæ*. Roter. 1663, 4to. To the last of these volumes is prefixed a life of the author, subscribed with the initials of Principal Baillie's name. The biographer informs us, that the dedication, preface, and poems, which accompany the other work, were written by Alexander More. The verses do not occur in the collection of More's *Poemata*. Paris. 1669, 4to.

intimate friend of Salmasius, and the clergyman with whom that literary hero chiefly communed when he felt the approach of death [t]. In his native country he is scarcely recognized as an author: but Sarravius hints at his having learnt from Blondel, that Dr Stuart published a work against the Independents [u]. Dr John Sharpe, Professor of Divinity in the College of Die, is the author of a *Cursus Theologicus*, and of a *Symphonia Prophetarum et Apostolorum*; works which procured him the reputation of "a man well learned, and a good textuary." The latter of these productions is recommended by Ludovicus Crocius, in his *Instructio de Ratione Studii Theologici*. David Dickson, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, is mentioned by Edward Leigh as "a good Scottish expositour [v]." Besides his expositions, he published a work en-

[t] Clementius de Laudibus et Vita Salmasii, p. liv.

[u] Sarravii Epistolæ, p. 84. edit. Burman.—Sorbiere complains of Dr Stuart's behaviour at the house of Salmasius: "La conversation étoit souvent infestée (pour me servir d'un terme qui exprime le dépit que nous en avions) par un Professeur en Philosophie nommé David Stüard, Ecossois, qui contredisoit maussadement à la plû-part des choses qui y étoit avancées, et ce tousseux nous faisoit beaucoup perdre de l'entretien de M. de Saumaise." (*Sorberiana*, p. 194.) Sorbiere may be mistaken with respect to Dr Stuart's Christian name: *Adam* Stuart's life of Hoornbeek is quoted by Saldenus. (*De Libris*, p. 371.) Dr Stuart is mentioned in Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 324.

[v] Leigh's Treatise of Religion and Learning, and of Religious and Learned Men, p. 179. Lond. 1656, fol.

titled *Therapeutica Sacra*. Samuel Rutherford, Professor of Divinity in the University of St Andrews, has so frequently been selected as an object of ridicule, that it is not without some hazard of sharing the same fate, that I venture to pronounce him a writer by no means despicable. His productions undoubtedly savour of Puritanical illiberality which then prevailed; but at the same time they display a considerable portion of acuteness and of scholastic knowledge. It may be added as an honourable testimony in his favour, that he was invited to the divinity-professorship in the University of Harderwick[w], at a time when the Dutch seminaries had attained to a high pitch of respectability. "Rutherford's *Letters*," says the accomplished Warton, "are the most genuine specimen I remember to have seen of the enthusiastic cant of the old Scotch divines[x]." I however have it in my power to introduce this old canting divine in the character of a poet, or at least of a versifier. The following lines, subscribed, "tuus in Domino S. Rhetorfortis," are prefixed, with the similar contributions of Principal Adamson, Dr Panther, and other scholars, to Principal Row's Hebrew grammar, published at Glasgow in the year 1644:

[w] Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 327.

[x] Warton's Notes on Milton, p. 323.

Verba Sionææ gentis submersa tenebris
Cimmeriis mendax Kimchius ore crepat.
Quæ vos Rabbini sinuosa ænigmata vultis,
Nunc facilem linguam dicite, quæso, sacram.
Falleris Hippocrates; male parcæ stamina vitæ
Curta vocas, artem vociferare μακραν.
Sit cita mors, rapido sit et hora fugacior Euro,
Bellerophontæis vita volato rotis:
Rovæi Hebræis sit mors male grata Camœnis.
Hæc relege, ast artem dixeris esse brevem.

Dr William Guild, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, possessed, says Dr Shirrefs, "not only the talents of a man truly great, but the still more estimable qualities of one eminently good[y]". His writings are numerous. William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, is also a theologian of considerable learning, and the author of various productions. Dr Gilbert Primrose is enumerated by Echard among the eminent men who died in the year 1642; and is also celebrated by Leigh and other writers as a man of learning. He is the author of several works. His two sons, David, a clergyman, and James, a physician, were also known for their writings. John Craig's mathematical principles of Christian theology exhibit a curious attempt to fortify our religion by the extraneous aid of geometry and algebra[z].

[y] Shirrefs's Inquiry into the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr William Guild, p. 90. edit. Aberdeen, 1799, 8vo.

[z] Theologiæ Christianæ Principia Mathematica: autore Johanne Craig. Lond. 1699, 4to.—This tract is dedicated to Bishop Burnet.

This tract, notwithstanding the singularity of its plan, seems to have excited little attention; the only writers by whom I have found it quoted, are Warburton and Ernesti.

Of the learned ecclesiastics who have been found entitled to our approbation, a very inconsiderable number was of the Presbyterian persuasion. Under the auspices of the Genevan discipline, literature has rarely made any rapid advances. During the violence of the struggles between the Papists and Protestants, and between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, the schools of learning were in a great measure neglected by all parties; and when they at length fell under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterians, elegant and useful knowledge seemed to languish in a state of hopeless decay.

About the period of the Reformation the universities were almost totally deserted. In the year 1562 King's College, Aberdeen, contained only fifteen or sixteen students[a]. The history of this famous college may perhaps be more accurately traced than that of any other in Scotland: and a cursory view of its revolutions during a few succeeding years, will assist us in forming a general estimate. In 1569 such of its members as refused to conform, were deprived of their offices

[a] Chalmers, Life of Ruddiman, p. 7. Lond. 1794, 8vo.

by the Protestant visitor. The principality was conferred on the celebrated Alexander Arbuthnot, a man of learning and virtue, under whose judicious management "the study of good letters" began to revive in this seminary[b]. Principal Arbuthnot died at a premature age in the year 1583: and the college being deprived of his support, seems to have speedily relapsed into its former state of barbarism. In 1618, when Patrick Forbes was promoted to the bishopric of Aberdeen, and consequently to the perpetual chancellorship of the university, he found the colleges sunk into a deplorable condition; the edifices ruinous, the revenues dilapidated, the statutes neglected, several of the professorships become obsolete, the professors negligent of their duty, and every spark of liberal taste almost completely extinguished[c]. By his prudent and vigorous exertions however, a total renovation was soon accomplished; and the university rose to a higher eminence than it had formerly attained. "He took such care of the two colledges in his diocess," says Bishop Burnet, "that they became quickly distinguished from all the rest of Scotland: so that when the troubles in that church broke out, the doctors there were the only persons that could maintain the cause of the church; as appears by the papers that past between them

[b] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 335.

[c] Garden, Vita Johannis Forbesii, p. 4.

and the Covenanters. And though they begun first to manage the argument in print, there has nothing appeared since more perfect than what they writ. They were an honour to the church both by their lives and by their learning, and with that excellent temper they seasoned that whole diocess, both clergy and laity, that it continues to this day very much distinguished from all the rest of Scotland, both for learning, loyalty, and peaceableness[d]." This prelate, who appears to have commanded the esteem and veneration of every order of his countrymen, is always represented as the second founder of the university. Dr James Sibbald, in his *Sermon in Commemoration of Bishop Forbes*, presents us with the following view of his exertions: "No sooner had hee vndertaken this charge, but hee began with the seminaries of learning; from which the weale of the church, in all ages, moste dependeth. This hee did seriouslie, remembering it was layde vpon him particularlie, *As hee would answere to God in the great day.* And so happie was his care in this, that what hee found *lateritia*, and almost ruinated, hee left *marmorea;* repared in the ædifices, restored in the bibliotheke, revived in the professions of divinitie, physicke, canon law; wherevnto hee procured the adding of another profession of divinitie, to the great benefit of the church, in all following tymes; restoring also the decayed honoures due to learning.

[d] Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedell, pref.

To what purpose hath the worthie and heroicke founders of that universitie left it, if it had fallen? And fallen appearantlie it should haue, if by him not vnder-propped. This deulie considered, that universitie may bee justlie called ANASTASIA, as was that temple of Nazianzen in Constantinople: for hee hath raysed vp in it good letters, almost fallen to the ground. Was not this holinesse[e]?" Bishop Forbes died in the year 1635. The strength of the Presbyterian party, which was now increasing with rapidity, soon counteracted the beneficial effects of the improvements which he had introduced. His son Dr Forbes, Dr Baron, and others of the most distinguished members, were at length suspended from their functions: and their places, it is to be feared, were supplied by men less qualified for so important a charge. During the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, ignorance and fanaticism were advancing with hasty steps; and the restoration of the unprincipled Charles seems to have contributed but little to the establishment of a purer system of religion, or of a more profitable species of erudition. At the time of that monarch's return to his dominions, King's College was represented as in a ruinous condition[f]: and the schools in general

[e] Funerals of a Right Reverend Father in God, Patrick Forbes of Corse, Bishop of Aberdene, p. 145. Aberd. 1635, 4to.

[f] The following verses occur in a poem written by John Row, Principal of King's College, and entitled *Εὐχαριστία Βασιλικὴ ad Carolum II. Carmen.* Aberd. 1660, 4to.

must have been in the same predicament. So early indeed as the latter part of his father's reign, their ruin was almost complete[g]. The illiberal sanctimony of the Puritans was even solicitous to divest learning of her inoffensive honours; the practice of conferring academical degrees, which, after a temporary disuse, had been revived by James the Sixth, they with the fervour of ignorant zeal exploded as savouring of heresy[h].

THE universities of Scotland were not, like those of more opulent countries, occasionally enlightened by eminent teachers, attracted or invited from every quarter of Europe. In the lists of our professors I have never been able to discover the name of a single foreigner, except that of Dr Hutcheson of Glasgow. But the universi-

> Téque poli voto ter-summum supplice regem,
> Téque soli regem ter-magnum voce rogamus
> Supplice, digneris nostris succurrere rebus:
> Patronúsque parénsque Scholæ Regalis alumnus
> Almus, gymnasii fotor fautorque præsse
> Digneris lapsas, O rex, reparando ruinas.

[g] "Academiæ et scholæ publicæ squalidæ ac ferè desolatæ languent: mœrore et pudore evictæ, conspectum hominum studiosè vitant: suspiriis et singultibus intercisos atque interfractos quosdam modos privatim tentant, tantùm ne penitus obtumescere videantur."

FORBES. Theologia Moralis, p. 206.

[h] Forbesii Irenicum Amatoribus Veritatis et Pacis in Ecclesia Scoticana, lib. ii. cap. xi. Aberd. 1629, 4to.

ties of almost every other country have been enriched by the literature of Scotish adventurers.

The number of foreign students who formerly resorted to the Scotish colleges, must have been inconsiderable. It is not however improbable that St Andrews was once frequented by the youth of various nations. The Dutch editor of Baron's *Metaphysica* informs us, that his father studied in this university[i]. One of the contributors to the collection of congratulatory verses which its members presented to James the Sixth, was Godefrid vander Hagen, a native of Middelburg in Zealand[j]. One of the poems of Walter Quin, a native of Ireland, was, as we learn from its title, recited before King James in St Salvator's College[k]. A Dane of the name of Petrus Petreius is also known to have studied at St Andrews[l].

i Clementii Præf. ad Baronii Metaphysicam.

j Antiq. Celeber. Acad. Andreanæ Χαριστήρια in Adventum Augustissimi Serenissimique Jacobi Primi. Edinb. 1617, 4to.—Vander Hagen speaks of Sir John Scot as his patron. From the epitaphs subjoined to his works, it appears that he died at Edinburgh, and was interred near the monument of Buchanan. See his *Miscellanea Poemata*. Middelb. 1619, 4to.

k Sertum Poeticum, in Honorem Jacobi Sexti, Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Scotorum Regis, a Gaultero Quinno Dublinensi Contextum. Edinb. 1600, 4to.—Quin's poetical garland is composed of verses in Latin, English, Italian, and French. Two epitaphs by this writer occur in the "Mavsolevm, or the Choisest Flowres of the Epitaphes, written on the Death of the neuer-too-much lamented Prince Henrie." Edinb. 1613, 4to.

l Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 127.

WHILE the universities were subject to such violent fluctuations, the inferior seminaries must have experienced a similar fortune.

In the year 1494 the Scotish parliament had enacted, that the eldest sons of barons and of freeholders should be sent to the grammar-schools, in order to be instructed in the Latin language; and that they should afterwards prosecute the study of law for the space of at least three years. To the infringement of this statute a penalty of twenty pounds was attached. Such a regulation evidently presupposed the existence of grammar-schools within the limits of the kingdom: yet after an interval of more than half a century, Winzet complains of the general neglect of these most important institutions. "The singular vtilitie thairof to the commoun welth," says this sensible writer, "causit me to meruell gretumlie, quhou in tymes passit, amang sa gret liberalitie and ryche dotations maid in Scotland of sindry fundationis to religioun and science, that sa litle respect hes euir bene had to the grammar sculis (quhairin comonlie the maist happy and first sedis of the said common welth ar sawin) that in mony townis thair is not sa mekle prouidit thairto as a common house; and in nane almaist of al, ane sufficient life to *ane* techear, albeit ma be requirit to vndertak the cuir deulie, as becumis of ony a scuil. And agane, quhou it mycht be, that at this time, quhen men presis to reforme al cause

of ignorance and abuse, that sa few childer w haldin at the studie of ony science, and special of grammar[m]." This famous statute of James t Fourth, we may then conclude, was, like mar others, suffered to fall into speedy neglect. Ma laments, that during his time the children of t noblility very rarely enjoyed the advantages of liberal education[n].

In a sermon preached before the regent and n bility in the year 1571, David Fergusson expos in forcible terms the general neglect into whi the seminaries of learning had been permitted decline. The following extract will at once lustrate the present subject, and serve as a spe men of the pulpit-eloquence of that age: "T same accusatiounis and complaints that God v of auld be his prophet aganis the Iewes, ser this day aganis thame that ar lyke the Iewes transgressioun; zea, thay serue aganis vs: for t day Christ is spuilzeit amang vs, quhil that quh aught to mantene the ministerie of the kirk, a the pure, is geuin to prophane men, flattereris court, ruffianes, and hyrelingis. The pure in t meane tyme oppressit with hounger, the kir and templis decaying for laik of ministeris a vphalding, and the schuilis utterlie neglectit a

[m] Winzet's Tractatis, sig. D. b. Edinb. 1562, 4to.

[n] "Liberos suos principes viri in literis et moribus non educant reipublicæ non parvam perniciem."

MAJOR de Gestis Scotorum, p. 3.

ouersene. Ar not thir thingis so? Behald the wayis and streitis, and ze sall se thame (to the greit dishonour of Christ, and decay of the commoun welth) replenischit with beggeris and vnbrydilit zouth; albeit na man amang vs, that may not, nor can not sustene thame selfis, suld be sufferit to laik. Our zouth also augcht to be nurischit and mantenit at the schuilis, that thairout-of efterward micht spring preicheris, counsellouris, phisiciounis, and all vther kyndes of leirnit men that we haue neid of. For the schuilis ar the seid of the kirk and commoun welth, and our children ar the hope of the posteritie; quhilk being neglectit, thair can nathing be luikit for, bot barbarous ignorance sall ouerflow all[o]."

In the history of the parish schools we are not at present so deeply interested; the salutary influence of these most excellent institutions is chiefly confined to a humble sphere. It was in the year 1616 that an act of privy council provided for the establishment of schools in the different parishes of the kingdom[p]: and new regulations were afterwards introduced at various periods by the parliament and by the general assembly.

[o] Ane Sermon preichit befoir the Regent and Nobilitie, vpon a part of the thrid chapter of the Prophet Malachi, in the Kirk of Leith, be David Fergussone, Minister of the Euangell at Dunfermlyne. St. Andr: 1572, 8vo.

[p] Kames, Statute Law, app. N° iii.

FROM the observations which have thus been detailed, it will probably appear, that during the period under our present review, Scotland occupied a more honourable station among the learned countries of Europe than some recent authors have been inclined to suppose. Of writers equal in genius to Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, and Newton, or equal in learning to Selden, Gataker[q], and Cudworth, she certainly could not boast; but her reputation was still supported by a few individuals whose names will not perhaps be speedily forgotten[r].

The Revolution, by removing innumerable grievances, inspired the nation with fresh vigour; but the ecclesiastical arrangement which ensued

[q] If it be requisite to apologize for having ranked Gataker with Selden and Cudworth, I may be permitted to avail myself of the testimony borne to his merits by two foreign writers well acquainted with books. He is characterized by Morhof as "vir stupendæ lectionis, magnique judicii." (*Polyhistor*, tom. i. p. 926.) Colomiés has mentioned him in still stronger terms of commendation: "E criticis omnibus qui hoc sæculo ad politiorum literarum illustrationem aliquid scripsere, vix ac ne vix quidem ullus invenietur, qui in authoribus diligenter ac accuratè tractandis Thomæ Gatakero palmam præripiat." (Pauli Colomesii *Opuscula*, p. 49. Paris. 1668, 12mo.)

[r] It was towards the close of the seventeenth century that Scotland produced the earliest of the commentators on Milton.—"Patrick Hume, a Scotchman, in 1695, published a large and very learned commentary on the Paradise Lost, to which some of his successors in the same province, apprehending no danger of detection from a work rarely inspected, and too pedantic and cumbersome to attract many readers, have been often amply indebted, without even the most distant hint of acknowledgment."

WARTON's Preface to Milton, p. vii.

was far from being conducive to the interests of literature. The honest but unlettered zealots who had formerly been persecuted with unrelenting cruelty, were now restored to the quiet possession of the national church: and nearly half a century elapsed before their successors began to emerge from ignorance and illiberality. They seem to have been actuated by an opinion, which still prevails among those who pretend to internal illumination, that a preacher of the gospel can derive no advantage from secular learning[s]. The works produced by ecclesiastics during this interval of vulgar piety, are entirely forgotten, or are only remembered by village scholars.

The final union of the two kingdoms took place in the year 1707: and from this period we may date the prosperity of Scotland. The Muses, as their votaries have often declared, love dignified tranquillity. The increasing opulence of the nation, and its happy coalescence with England, have afforded our countrymen a more favourable opportunity of exercising their native ingenuity: and the experience of another century has convinced the world, that the encomium which was formerly pronounced by Hugh Semple, is no idle and extravagant reverie[t].

[s] "I confess," says Dr South, "God has no need of any man's parts or learning; but certainly then, he has much less need of his ignorance."

[t] "Ingenii vigore, præsertim si accedat in litteris constantia, nulli

DURING the earlier part of the eighteenth century Scotland could still boast of a few respectable names. Andrew Fletcher investigated political subjects with a noble freedom of sentiment, and exhibited his conceptions with a purity and elegance of style which none of his countrymen had hitherto attained. Dr Pitcairne, whom his scholar Dr Mead has represented as the honour of the medical profession in Scotland[u], was a man of general literature, and no unsuccessful cultivator of a certain tract of Latin poetry. Father Innes of the Sorbonne explored the antiquities of his native country with a more rational spirit of criticism than any of his predecessors. His *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*,

mortalium cedunt." (Sempilius *De Mathematicis Disciplinis*, p. 123. b.)—To this quotation from the work of a Scotish Jesuit I shall add another from that of an English nobleman. "It is not my purpose," says Lord Orford, "to give an exact account of the royal and noble authors of Scotland: I am not enough versed in them to do justice to writers of the most accomplished nation in Europe; the nation to which, if any one country is endowed with a superior partition of sense, I should be inclined to give the preference in that particular." (*Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*, vol. ii. p. 182.)

[u] "The Dissertations of Dr Pitcairne, the honour of the profession in Scotland, are a convincing proof of the advantage of such a mechanical way of reasoning: nor could malice itself deny this, were not ignorance in confederacy with it, which will secure any one from being benefited by the most useful demonstrations."

MEAD's Mechanical Account of Poisons, p. xvii.

This mode of treating medical subjects was exposed to ridicule in a little volume entitled "*Apollo Mathematicus*: or the Art of Curing Diseases by the Mathematicks, according to the Principles of Dr Pitcairn: to which is subjoined a Discourse of Certainty, according to the Principles of the same author."—1695, 12mo.

published in 1729, is a work of real learning and importance. Arbuthnot, the friend of Pope and Swift, was another successful candidate for literary distinction. His character is thus sketched by the masterly hand of Dr Johnson: "Arbuthnot was a man of great comprehension, skilful in his profession, versed in the sciences, acquainted with ancient literature, and able to animate his mass of knowledge by a bright and active imagination; a scholar with great brilliancy of wit; a wit who, in the crowd of life, retained and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal[v]." Cunningham and Ruddiman rendered themselves eminent in the department of philology; and the former is also known to posterity as a historian of no inconsiderable merit[w].

[v] Johnson's Lives of English Poets, vol. iv. p. 118.

[w] Mr Chalmers supposes himself to have proved "that George Logan was not, as we have been lately told, the nephew of Alexander Cunnyngham, the historian and critic, 'who' was a very different man from the professor of civil law." (*Life of Ruddiman*, p. 191.) But the reverse may verily easily be proved by referring to the publisher's preface to Cunningham's Virgil. (*Virgilius ex recensione Cuningamii.* Edinb. 1743, 12mo.)—"Quod cl. Cuningamii curæ in Horatium posteriores, majusque opus in pandectas juris civilis, lucem non aspexerint, dolet, neque immeritò, respublica literaria." From this quotation, it is sufficiently evident that the editor of Horace and Virgil was no other than the civilian who undertook a new edition of the Pandects; and from the following, it is equally evident that the Rev. George Logan was the nephew of this celebrated critic: "Si castigatior nunc prodit Virgilius, id cl. Cuningamio, simul et viro eruditissimo Georgio Logano, sacra munia in hac urbe summâ cum laude obeunti, qui has avunculi sui curas mecum

THE publication of Thomson's *Seasons* forms a new æra in the history of Scotish literature. Our countrymen had now ceased to cultivate Latin poetry with their former assiduity and success[x]; and Drummond had hitherto found no worthy successor: but the appearance of this admired writer served to rescue the nation from that discredit into which it was apparently sinking[y]. Mallet, who commenced his literary career about the same period, was a poet of considerable ingenuity. Armstrong, by the composition of his *Art of Preserving Health*, has acquired a solid and extensive reputation; but the rest of his compositions may, without much detriment to his character, be permitted to sink into speedy oblivion. The fastidiousness of his *Sketches*, the indecency of one of his juvenile poems, and the general in-

humaniter communicavit, acceptum referas." Had Mr Chalmers perused Dr Thomson's admirable introduction with adequate attention, the present note would have been unnecessary.

[x] In the year 1645 it was enacted by the General Assembly, "*for remedy of the great decay of poesy*, that no schoolmaster be admitted to teach a grammar-school in burghs, or in other considerable parishes, but such as after examination shall be found skilful in the Latine tongue, not only for prose, but also for verse." (Dundas's *Abridgment of the Acts of the General Assemblies*, p. 45.)

[y] Dr Johnson's compendious criticism on Thomson's *Liberty* is too well known: the following is that of the ingenious and amiable Aaron Hill: "I shall never be able to think of a loveliness in moral, a frankness in social, or a penetration in political life, to which you have not, in this inimitable master-piece, both of language and genius, given a force and a delicacy which few shall be born with a capacity to feel, and none ever with a capacity to exceed." (Hill's *Works*, vol. i. p. 247.)

elegance of his rhyming couplets, can only be recollected with painful emotions. The few poetical compositions which have proceeded from the pen of Smollett are distinguished by many beauties. His *Ode to Independence* is to be ranked among the finest lyric poems in the English language. Mickle's *Sir Martyn* is an admirable imitation of the manner of Spenser; and his translation of Camoens confessedly displays the spirit of an original composition. The poems of Michael Bruce are of a most interesting character: and had a longer term of years been allotted to the amiable author, he might have elevated himself to a level with Pope or with Thomson. The works of Wilkie, Blair, and Logan, tended to rescue the Presbyterian clergy from the charge of barbarism. Dr Beattie's *Minstrel* breathes the genuine spirit of poetry; and may undoubtedly be classed among the finest compositions which Scotland has produced. The other works of the excellent author do not reach the same standard; although some of them are entitled to no parsimonious praise. The vigorous powers of Burns attracted the attention of every admirer of native genius; and reflected the highest honour on the intellectual character of the Scotish peasantry.

Latin poetry has not of late been generally cultivated by the scholars of North Britain: but in this department of literature the names of Dr Geddes and of Mr Beattie may be mentioned

with some degree of respect. When Mr Good observes, that the former possessed an elegance and facility, a fecundity and correctness of style, which have not often been exceeded by his countrymen since the age of Buchanan, the assertion, however gratifying it may be to the admirers of Dr Geddes, is somewhat injurious to the literary character of the nation[z]. Geddes was undoubtedly a man of uncommon talents; but in the composition of Latin poetry he has been surpast by many of his countrymen[a].

[z] Good's Life of Geddes, p. 22. Lond. 1803, 8vo.

[a] In the Latin poems of Dr Geddes a rigid grammarian may find something to reprehend. Similar delinquencies have however been committed by the most accomplished scholars of whom modern Europe can boast.

Salmasius has detected several false quantities in the Latin poems of Milton. (*Ad Joannem Miltonum Responsio*, p. 5. Divione, 1660, 4to.) Vavassor has mentioned those of Beza as containing various errors in prosody and syntax. (*De Epigrammate*, p. 301.) Barthius has particularized several false quantities in the compositions of Politian, J. C. Scaliger, Taubman, Jovius, Fracastorius, D. Heinsius, Douza, and other modern writers of Latin verse. (*Adversaria*, tom. i. col. 1276.) Scioppius has specified many false quantities in the productions of the Italians. (*Paradoxa Literaria*, epist. v.) In the miscellaneous compositions of J. J. Scaliger, I. Casaubon, Thuanus, Lipsius, Strada, Mariana, H. Stephanus, Manutius, and other eminent scholars, several barbarisms have been discovered by the same critic. (*De Rhetoricarum Exercitationum Generibus*, passim.) And to conclude this enumeration, which might easily be extended to a much greater length, Vossius has detected false quantities in the poems of Buchanan. (*De Arte Grammatica*, p. 210. 225.)

Instances of this kind ought to be received as lessons of modesty. The most stern grammarian may himself be betrayed into the very errors which he is so eager to expose in others. Halley, a Professor in the University of Caen, though an unrelenting exactor of prosodical nicety, was detected in a false quantity by Huet, at that time one of his own

Of living merit it is hazardous to speak: friendship may prompt to unmerited panegyric; resentment may produce undue severity. The writers who have lately aspired to the poetical character, shall therefore be left to the unbiassed decision of time. A length of days, says Pindar, is the most impartial witness.

In the composition of fictitious history several Scotish writers have evinced great versatility and compass of talent.

Dr Arbuthnot, an author of varied excellence, has made a successful incursion into a favourite province of his friend Dr Swift. The merit of his *History of John Bull* has long been acknowledged. The *Memoirs of Scriblerus* are commonly printed among Pope's works; but they seem, as Dr Johnson has remarked, to be the production of Arbuthnot, with a few touches perhaps by Pope[b]. This composition displays a remarkable union of wit, humour, and learning.

Dr Smollett's general character as a novelist is

pupils. (*Huetiana*, p. 123.) It is remarked by Vavassor and other writers, that in advancing a charge of barbarism against his more learned antagonist Salmasius, Milton has himself been guilty of a manifest solecism. (Vavassor *De Epigrammate*, p. 301. edit. Paris. 1672, 8vo. Morhofii *Polyhistor*, tom. i. p. 302.) The candour of Markland is more worthy of imitation: this respectable scholar has pointed out a grammatical error in Burman's notes on Quintilian; but he at the same time confesses that his own notes on Maximus Tyrius betray a similar inadvertency. (*Remarks on Cicero*, p. 36.)

[b] Johnson's Lives of English Poets, vol. iv. p. 122.

thus delineated by Dr Anderson: "He proves himself to have possessed, in an eminent degree, the powers which are required to excel in this species of composition; an extensive acquaintance with human nature, an acute discernment, and exact discrimination of characters, a correct judgment of probability in situations, an active imagination in devising and combining incidents, with command of language for describing them. His novels exhibit the features that give most dignity to this species of fiction; the artful conduct of an interesting plot, the dramatic delineation of characters drawn from actual observation, the accurate and captivating representation of real domestic life, without offending the modesty of nature, which are found in great perfection in the novels of Le Sage, professedly adopted by him as models of imitation[c]."

The writings of the late Dr Moore exhibit vestiges of a mind capable of accurate and sagacious observation; and are distinguished by a vein of sarcastic humour peculiar to himself. Some of his characters are drawn with no common felicity of conception; that of Zeluco in particular is sufficient to stamp the author as a man of genius. Moore's erudition appears to have been greatly inferior to that of Arbuthnot, and even of Smollett; but he certainly inherited a large portion of their knowledge of real life.

[c] Anderson's Life of Smollett, p. 178. 4th edit.

About the middle of the eighteenth century several historians arose to add new lustre to the literary character of their native country. Robertson may, without arrogance or temerity, be pronounced the greatest historian whom the world has yet produced. Hume was endowed with talents of a high order: but that deplorable system of scepticism which he seems to have adopted as the badge of superior genius, has extended its baneful influence to all his productions; and, by enfeebling his moral principles, has prepared him for perverting the sacred page of history. His sagacity is equal to that of Robertson; but he is undoubtedly inferior in those other essential qualities, candour of sentiment, assiduity of research, and elegance of diction.

To historical composition the genius of the Scotish seems peculiarly adapted. The success of Robertson and of Hume has incited a numerous train of candidates for similar honours; and many of these have displayed abilities of no vulgar denomination. The historical productions of Dr Watson, for example, are unquestionably possest of considerable merit. Dr Stuart, had his moral been equal to his intellectual qualities, might have secured a permanent reputation: but, with all his acuteness and knowledge, he was a miserable slave to his passions. His personal enmity towards Dr Robertson seems to have adhered to him in all his literary enterprizes; and,

in many instances, to have clouded his perspicacity. At present his *History of Scotland*, a work apparently suggested by such principles as actuated the ancient sophists, is only examined as a specimen of composition. It would however be unjust to deny that some of his other works possess superior merit. His *View of Society in Europe* is a production which combines the utility of antiquarian research with the splendour of oratory. His style however is too artificial; or, in more appropriate terms, his artifices of language are too apparent. His admiration of the *stile coupée* of the French has induced him to allot only one member to the generality of his sentences; a practice which has a direct and powerful tendency to produce satiety.—In investigating the origin and progress of society, the Scotish writers have displayed the happiest talents: the works of Robertson, Kames, Millar, Stuart, and Dunbar, have added new stores to the general treasury of knowledge. The eloquence and energy of Dr Dunbar's *Essays on the History of Mankind* entitle them to a more ample share of the public attention than they seem to have received.

The genius of the Scotish nation has been pronounced philosophical by those literary heroes Scaliger and Grotius[d]. Genuine science however

[d] "Les Escossois," says Joseph Scaliger, "sont bons philosophes."

had too long been neglected; but was now beginning to advance towards maturity. In the unprofitable subtilties of the schools our countrymen were sufficiently conversant; but at the time when true philosophy began to be disseminated with the writings of Lord Bacon, the political state of the nation was altogether unfavourable to profound and laborious investigations. Till the speculations of Hume began to rouse the public attention, the study of ethics and of metaphysics was not pursued with brilliant success. Those who admired the sagacity or abhorred the infidelity of this philosopher, were induced, by discrepant motives, to cultivate these neglected fields. Reid, Smith, Kames, and other ingenious men, have earned a reputation which promises to be lasting.—The eloquent Dr Parr's encomium on

(*Scaligerana*, p. 223.) Grotius mentions one Stuart, "gente Schotus, et quæ ejus gentis laus velut propria est, ingenio per omnes philosophiæ partes benè exercito." (Grotii *Epistolæ*, p. 253. a.) The admirable Warton, speaking of the Scotish, commemorates "that philosophical and speculative cast which characterises their national genius." (*Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 321.)

One of the earliest encomiums which has been past on the genius of our countrymen, proceeded from the pen of Sebastian Munster: "Valent ingenio, id quod doctrina declarat: nam ad quamcunque se applicant artem, in ea facilè proficiunt." (*Cosmographia Universalis*, p. 50. Basil. 1559, fol.) "Uti polis proximiores sunt," says Caspar Barlæus, "ita in acumina desinunt, et circa se, velut axem, verti adspectant vicinarum gentium ingenia judiciaque." (Barlæi *Epistolæ*, tom. ii. p. 864.) To these testimonies I shall only add that of Stanihurst: "Quos sanè animi magnitudine, bellicâ virtute, insigni prudentiâ, sempiternæ laudis famam confecisse agnosco." (*De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis*, p. 19. Antverp. 1584, 4to.)

the Scotish philosophers is at once a proof of his own discernment, and a valuable testimony in favour of the national character[e].

In the present disquisition, criticism and philology claim a large share of our attention.

Dr Blackwell published in 1735 his *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*; a production which displays more erudition than genius, and more affectation than elegance. Blackwell was undoubtedly possest of ingenuity and learning which might have secured him a place among the most respectable of the British writers: but his unfortunate admiration of the style and manner of Lord Shaftesbury has betrayed him into perpetual affectation. This work however, with all its faults, is of considerable value; the author's speculations have occasionally elucidated the obscurities of ancient literature. His other labours have been bestowed without effect. The *Letters concerning Mythology* will by most readers be classed among pompous trifles; and his *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*, a production which fell under the lash of Dr Johnson[f], may now be praised or censured without much hazard of contradiction.

Mr Ruddiman, whose philological qualifications are generally acknowledged, has in his vari-

[e] Parr, Præfat. ad Bellenden. p. lxxii.

[f] Johnson's Works, vol. ii. p. 319.

publications evinced no inconsiderable ac-
aintance with the circle of critical learning.
elaborate *Vindication of Buchanan's Psalms*
inst the cavils of Benson is a production which
y still be perused with profit.

Mr Geddes's *Essay on the Composition of the*
*cients* was published at Glasgow in the year
8. From a careful perusal of the writers of
purest age of Grecian literature some advan-
es must always be derived. Although Mr
ddes does not display abilities of a high order,
his admiration of ancient models has enabled
to produce a work which, it is probable, his
emporaries did not despise. Precision of thought
certainly did not possess: nor has his atten-
n been generally directed towards subjects of
ch importance. His attempts to trace imita-
ns of Homer in the writings of Plato and other
hors are for the most part extremely puerile:
l nugatory enumerations of such coincidences
l be found to occupy a very considerable pro-
tion of his essay. The earliest example of ex-
iting a lengthened series of parallelisms is
haps furnished by Macrobius. The inventor
this literary game, whoever he may have been,
ntitled to little gratitude from the admirers of
d erudition[g].

On the dexterity which they

Porphyry, in a fragment of his treatise on philology quoted by
bius, mentions one Aretades as having made an ample collection of
idences. See Menage's *Anti-Baillet*, tom. ii. p. 208. and the same

display at this trivial occupation, many writers seem willing to rest their hopes of celebrity. When Mr Geddes enters into a disquisition relative to the philosophy of Plato, he evidently digresses from his profest subject; but this digression is perhaps the only valuable part of his work. With some learning and ingenuity he has traced the delicate connection of Plato's dialogues; and has vindicated him against the rash and unfounded charges of Dr Warburton.

Lauder's *Essay on Milton's Imitation of the Moderns* appeared in 1750. This notable impostor was not deficient in acutenes or in literature: his talents, under more virtuous regulation, might have reflected some credit on his native country. Scotland, which had produced so dishonourable an enemy to the fame of Milton, could fortunately boast, in the person of Dr Douglas, of another scholar competent and willing to vindicate that illustrious poet.

Dr Moor, who has published several essays on subjects of polite literature, is here entitled to some degree of notice. He possessed much natural acuteness, and was intimately acquainted with ancient authors. These qualifications however are not sufficient for enabling a man to write in his native language with propriety and ele-

writer's *Observations sur les Poëries de M. de Malherbe*, p. 255.—This was perhaps the first separate treatise on the subject of plagiarism and imitation.

gance; he must also study the genius of modern tongues, and familiarize himself with the best models of vernacular composition. Moor's style is beneath criticism; and some of his literary speculations have little either of novelty or of utility. But his merit as a philologer is conspicuous. In his elements of Greek grammar, a work which he has left incomplete, we meet with instances of a beautiful analysis; and his *Essay on the Prepositions of the Greek Language*, published at Glasgow in 1766, is another exemplification of the advantage which grammar may derive from philosophy. On the subject of the Greek prepositions, he had perhaps formed more correct notions than any other modern writer; and it cannot sufficiently be regretted that this introductory essay was never followed by the sequel which he had taught his readers to expect. Dr Moor was Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow; a seminary which during the last sixty years has risen to a conspicuous eminence. His zeal in promoting a taste for his favourite study appears to have been crowned with success; Glasgow has lately produced some of the best Grecians of whom North Britain can boast. The qualifications of Dr Gillies are known to every admirer of ancient literature. Mr Young has not hitherto afforded the same opportunity of ascertaining the extent of his erudition: but the uniform testimony of those who have attend-

ed his academical prelections, has procured him a reputation which, it is to be hoped, he will at length establish upon a more permanent basis.

Dr Blair's *Dissertation on Ossian* excited an unusual degree of attention. This work is composed with an accuracy and elegance of style which had only been surpast by the admirable Robertson: and the English scholars were now ready to acknowledge, that their northern neighbours had already begun to rival them in certain departments of polite literature. Our obligations to the labours of Blair are important: he was the first professor who taught, in any of the universities, the principles of rhetoric with eminent success; and the first preacher who afforded practical illustrations of the eloquence of the pulpit. The utility of his academical prelections was afterwards extended by their publication. If they do not display much originality or compass of thought, they may at least be recommended as a judicious introduction to critical studies.

Lord Kames's *Elements of Criticism* possess a higher species of merit; they present us with the first regular attempt to confer on criticism the dignity and solidity of science. To literary composition former writers had applied detached principles of philosophy; Aristotle, the father of criticism, has himself proceeded with a reference to the original principles of our nature: but it was reserved for the genius of Kames to frame a sys-

tem of philosophical criticism. His work is distinguished by an original mode of thinking; and his positions are always delivered in precise and simple language. He has found many admirers in England and Ireland, as well as in Scotland. Dr Leland's contemptuous mention of "the author of a book called *Elements of Criticism*" must be regretted as a remarkable deviation from his usual candour[h]. Kames, it must be acknowledged, was deficient in classical learning; and several of his speculations may perhaps be considered as flimsy or over refined. But in some respects his critical work has not often been surpast.

Dr Campbell, possest of erudition superior to that of Kames, and of acuteness superior to that of Blair, has presented us with several valuable contributions to the stock of national literature. His *Philosophy of Rhetoric* is a work which may be perused with advantage by every student. While the acuteness and importance of the author's remarks are valued for intrinsic qualities, the imperfections of his style remind us of the propriety of inculcating an early application to the study of rhetoric.

Dr Beattie displays a more elegant vein of criticism than any of his predecessors. To Blair he is superior in every quality which enables a man to appreciate the beauties of composition: and

[h] Leland's Dissertation on the Principles of Human Eloquence, p. 67.

although his metaphysical acumen is not equal to that of Kames or of Campbell, yet his taste is more delicate and more truly classical. The value of his philosophical writings is not very considerable; but as a poet and as a critic his merit is conspicuous.

Mr Hume, among his miscellaneous works, had published several critical essays of no ordinary character. Lord Hailes, in his investigations of different subjects of Scotish antiquities, had evinced much skill as a philologer. Lord Monboddo's singular production entitled *Of the Origin and Progress of Language*, though certainly marked with little elegance of taste, is replenished with recondite erudition. The philological attainments of Dr Geddes are too generally admired to stand in need of reiterated commendation.

From an accurate investigation, it will probably appear that the Scotish writers have excelled in philosophical criticism rather than in philology. Among our countrymen, the only profest philologers who have risen to considerable eminence, are Scrimger, Dempster, Balfour, Cameron, Ruddiman, Cunningham, Campbell, Monboddo, and Geddes[1]. The following observations on this sub-

[1] Dempster, a celebrated humanist, published editions of Claudian and Corippus, not *Crispus* as Erythræus and Spizelius suppose. He also commented on a more modern production, Benedictus Accoltus *De Bello à Christianis contra Barbaros Gesto*. Dempster mentions his own notes on Statius and on Ælian. See the catalogue of his writings, inserted in his *Apparatus ad Historiam Scoticam*, &c. Bononiæ, 1622, 4to.

ject, though dictated by a fantastic writer, seem entitled to considerable regard: "Most of the Scottish nation," says Urquhart, "never having astricted themselves so much to the propriety of words, as to the knowledge of things, where there was one preceptor of languages amongst them, there were above forty professors of philosophy: nay, to so high a pitch did the glory of the Scottish nation attain over all the parts of France, and for so long time together continue in that obtained height, by vertue of an ascendant the French conçeived the Scots to have above all nations, in matter of their subtlety in philosophical disceptations, that there hath not been till of late, for these several ages together, any lord, gentleman, or other in all that country, who being desirous to have his son instructed in the principles of philosophy, would intrust him to the discipline of any other than a Scottish master; of whom they

Balfour's edition of Cleomedes procured him the applause of competent judges. Barthius, an author of wonderful erudition, mentions it in the following terms: "Quo loco vide commentaria eruditissimi Balforei, qui authorem præstantissimum vitæ suæ restituit." (*Adversaria*, tom. i. col. 673.)

Alexander Scot, LL.D. is here entitled to an incidental notice. He published two philological compilations; the one entitled *Universa Grammatica Græca;* the other, *Apparatus Latinæ Locutionis.* He flourished at the beginning of the seventeenth century. His Greek grammar is recommended by Scioppius. (*Consultationes de Scholarum et Studiorum Ratione*, p. 56.)

John Rutherford, Professor of Philosophy at St Andrews, is said to have published *Comment. in librum Aristotelis de Arte Metrica.* Edinb. 1557, 4to. (Mackenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. iii. p. 144.)

were no less proud then Philip was of Aristotle, or Tullius of Cratippus. And if it occurred (as very often it did) that a pretender to a place in any French university, having in his tendrer yeers been subferulary to some other kind of schooling, should enter in competition with another aiming at the same charge and dignity, whose learning flowed from a Caledonian source, commonly the first was rejected, and the other preferred [j]."

No learned nation of Europe has furnished so small a proportion of the philological compilations from which modern scholars derive such advantage;

Lexica cum glossis, analecta, theatra, medullæ,
Thesauri, methodi, bibliotheca, penus,
Fasciculi, flores, syntagmata, symbola, silvæ,
Notitiæ, tabulæ, lampas, acerra, faces,
Deliciæ, phrases, suadæ, proverbia, claves,
Atria, vestibulum, janua, porta, viæ,
Et quæ præterea jejuno sueta supellex
Materiem crassis suppeditare libris [k].

It must also have occurred to every enquirer, that the number of translations produced in North Britain is extremely small. To labour of this description our countrymen submit with reluctance. No translations from the Greek, and very few from the Latin, into the ancient Scotish language,

[j] Urquhart's Jewel, p. 117.

[k] Burmanni Poemata, p. 39. Amst. 1746, 4to.

have ever been discovered. Douglas's admirable version of the Æneid stands alone in the early annals of Scotish poetry. Bellenden has translated Boyce's history, and Winzet the treatise of Vincentius Lirinensis into Scotish prose[1]. A version of Bonet's *Arbre des Batailles* was executed by Sir Gilbert Hay. An English version of Sallust was published by Alexander Barclay, the author of *The Ship of Fooles*. Translations from Du Bartas and Petrarch are to be found among the works of James the Sixth, Hudson, and Fowler.—This short catalogue includes almost every translation into the Scotish language which is known to have been executed previous to the union of the two kingdoms. The list of books translated since that æra by natives of Scotland, would occupy very little space. Let it however be remembered that Scotland has furnished one of the few systematic treatises on the art of translation which have hitherto appeared. Lord Woodhouselee's *Essay on the Principles of Translation*, composed while he filled the office of Professor of Civil His-

[1] Vincentius Lirinensis, of the natioun of Gallis, for the Antiquitie and Veritie of the Catholik Fayth, aganis ye Prophane Nouationis of al Hæreseis; a richt goldin buke, writtin in Latin about xi C. zeris passit, and neulie translatit in Scottis be Niniane Winzet, a Catholik Priest. Antwerp, 1563, 8vo.

According to Dr Mackenzie, Winzet likewise published "a translation of a discourse of Renatus Benedictus concerning composing discords in religion. Paris. 1565, 8vo." (*Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. iii. p. 156.) This translation I have never seen.

tory in the University of Edinburgh, is a production from which future scholars cannot fail to derive advantage[m].

AFTER a persevering march over tracts of varied aspect, we are now arrived at the close of the eighteenth century; an æra which presents us

[m] To Lord Woodhouselee's enumeration of authors who have discussed the principles of translation, it will not, I hope, be deemed impertinent to subjoin a brief supplement.

Huet's treatise, which his Lordship has never seen, is no very rare book; it has undergone at least four editions. It bears the title of "Petri Danielis Huetii de Interpretatione libri duo: quorum prior est de Optimo Genere Interpretandi; alter de Claris Interpretibus." Paris. 1661, 4to. This excellent work, which is conducted in the form of a dialogue, is elegantly written, and replenished with erudition.

St Jerom is the author of a tract *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi*, which Lord Woodhouselee has totally overlooked. (Hieronymi *Opera*, tom. ii. f. 121. edit. Erasmi, 1546.)

A discourse *De la Traduction*, written by M. de Mézeriac of the French Academy, is inserted by M. de la Monnoye in the *Menagiana*, tom. iii. M. de l'Estang published a work entitled "De la Traduction, ou Regles pour apprendre à traduire la langue Latine en la langue Françoise: tirées de quelques-unes des meilleures traductions du temps." A Paris, 1660, 8vo.

As Lord Woodhouselee has mentioned Dr Franklyn's metrical work, he might also have enumerated Lord Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse*.

Le Clerc, in the first volume of his *Ars Critica*, presents us with many observations on the subject of translation. Wowerus has written a *Syntagma de Græca et Latina Bibliorum Interpretatione*; but it contains few or no remarks on the general principles of the art. It was first printed with his *Epistolarum centuriæ duo*, Hamb. 1618, 8vo. and afterwards with Walton's *Dissertatio de Linguis Orientalibus*, Daventriæ, 1658, 12mo. Various observations on the principles of translation may be found in the biblical works of Dr Geddes and of Archbishop Newcome.

In the catalogue of Thuanus's library occurs the following article:

with a brilliant prospect of national prosperity and of national genius. The commerce and manufactures of North Britain have lately been advanced with rapid industry; and, what is of higher moment, philosophy and literature have there been cultivated with wonderful success[n]. "We every day," says Dr Campbell, "see the bleak regions of North Britain sending forth her colonies of genius to overthrow the fanciful systems of those climate theorists who will not combine moral and political with physical causes, in estimating the *momentum* of national genius[o]." The philosophical and historical productions of Scotish authors who have flourished within the last fifty years, are more generally diffused over the continent than the similar compositions of their English cotemporaries. In England, there is reason to apprehend, philosophy has already begun to languish; several late publications have been eagerly received as systems of philosophy, though

"Joachimi Perionii O. B. de optimo interpretandi genere, &c. 4to. *Paris. Colinet.* 1540." (Quesnel, *Bibliotheca Thuana*, tom. ii. p. 24.)

Casaubon, in his preface to Polybius, hints at his intention of publishing a discourse on the principles of translation: but when his papers were inspected after his decease, no considerable fragment of this composition could be found. (*M. Casauboni Pietas*, p. 163.)

[n] "Animi illis in quæcunque studia inclinant, mirifico successu inclyti, ut nullis major patientia castrorum vel audacia pugnæ, et Musæ nunquam delicatiùs habeant quàm cum inciderunt in Scotos."

BARCLAII Satyricon, p. 392.

[o] Campbell's Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland, p. 159. Dublin, 1789, 8vo.

it may safely be affirmed that their pretensions to such a character are more than dubious. Productions which the English applaud in unqualified terms, would in a Scotish university be rejected as nugatory. Dr Paley's celebrated work may be approved as containing some important observations on moral and political topics; but of philosophy it appears to be almost entirely devoid. In the southern universities words are more carefully studied than things: and the effects of this plan may often be traced in the writings of their most distinguished members; an accurate knowledge of all the niceties of ancient languages is often found accompanied with little power of enlarged investigation. The mere study of words is productive of no beneficial consequences[p]. Writers who feel the conscious pride of philology, are apt to treat every subject in a trifling if not pedantic manner; the temporal rights and eternal concerns of mankind must be discussed like points of prosody or syntax. With what propriety have political subjects been investigated by the late Mr Wakefield, one of the most eminent philologers of the present age? A tissue of school-boy allusions, and of quotations which suggest nothing, is but poorly calculated to impress

[p] "Omnes artes communi quodam vinculo aptas et colligatas convincam, ut quisquis earum unicam negligenter habuerit, eum reliquæ quoque deserant."

Wowerus de Polymathia, p. 14.

the reader's mind with important truths. The effects of the philosophical blended with the classical discipline, may be perceived in the nobler pages of Mr Mackintosh. The one marches with the dignity of a Roman senator; the other proceeds with the irregular step of a feeble stripling. By this ardour of philology, writers of a highly respectable character are not unfrequently betrayed into an unseasonable parade of verbal criticism. The works of Dr Jortin, for example, exhibit a very considerable share of ingenuity and of learning; but their value would perhaps have been enhanced, if he had sometimes forgotten that he was so accomplished a philologer. The following quotation from this author is characteristic: "Some unpublished sermons of Bishop Chandler were sent to me to peruse. They are such as might be expected from him, and upon points in which he was skilled. He was more of a divine than a philologer[q]."—James the First was more of a king than a poet; and the Duke of Marlborough was more of a general than a pioneer.

Such parallels may however be deemed invidious; and these observations are produced with the utmost reluctance. The present superiority of England in every department except those of history, moral philosophy, and philosophical cri-

[q] Jortin's Tracts, vol. ii. p. 513.

ticism, we are on all occasions ready to ack
ledge; but in these, we must venture witl
modesty to dispute the point of precedency.

Every man of ordinary candour must a
that in the more recondite studies connected
their sacred profession, the Scotish clerg
somewhat deficient. Whether we are to in
it to the scantiness of present provision, or t
absence of future prospects, the fact itself i
manifest to be easily veiled. Such of their
ber as have courted literary distinction, hav
nerally directed their views towards secular
dies: and by the cultivation of these, it wo
unjust to deny, they have frequently merite
perlative praise. But while England can
of Cudworth, Gataker, Pearson, Clarke, Wa
ton, and many other illustrious names, the
Scotish divine of the Presbyterian establish
who has produced any professional work of
than vulgar learning, is Dr George Camj
Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen.
what increases the poignancy of this reflec
the present state of ecclesiastical affairs seei
afford no very bright prospects. From Dr
liam Laurence Brown, the accomplished succ
of Dr Campbell, there is however reason to e
some splendid exertion; some theological prc
tion which shall display a happy union of u
cumscribed erudition with the perspicacity o
nius.

" When we consider," says Dr Rennell, " the vigilant exertions, the constant residence of her laborious clergy, the effectual and general diffusion of religious knowledge among the lower ranks of the people, the regular institution, well directed course of study, and the public and solemn examination, and previous professional knowledge which is indispensibly required in those who are admitted to the sacred ministry, we cannot but hold such a church as worthy of the highest respect and veneration[r]." Without appealing from the sentence of this writer, we may still maintain, that the Scotish church has never signalized itself in the higher paths of theological learning. And indeed it must in the mean time be recollected, that the first and greatest duty of a Christian pastor is to feed the flock committed to his immediate care; and that a churchman, while he earns the praise of genius or of erudition, may perhaps be found guilty of deserting the charge which he has so solemnly undertaken.

The neglect which prevails in Scotland of philology in general, and of the Greek language in particular, cannot but be regarded as a copious

[r] To the Scotish clergy a liberal tribute of applause has also been paid by Mr Ledwich, a gentleman who ranks with the most distinguished members of the Irish church: " The clergy of Scotland have done themselves immortal honour by their statistical account of that kingdom: ingenuity, learning, and good sense, were never perhaps so conspicuously displayed by any body of men." (*Statistical Account of the Parish of Agha-boe.* Dublin, 1796, 8vo.)

subject of regret. In the grammar-schools the universities, the enthusiasm of individuals occasionally add a temporary impulse; and a private scholars may prosecute philological dies with perseverance and success. But the valent taste is too much vitiated by the affe tion of metaphysical refinement. Dr Black was instrumental in promoting a relish for cian literature among the students of Aberd and Dr Moor produced the same effect upon t of Glasgow. When a grammar-school finds a rector as Dr Adam or the late Dr Doig, the pils are initiated into classical learning with accuracy. But in the schools in general, it be feared, this study is prosecuted with littl gour. A conformity to the models furnishe the English universities, where classical kn ledge is acquired to the almost total exclusi every other branch, is as sedulously to be avo as the other extreme: but it were earnestly t wished that a portion of English scholarship c speedily be transfused into our northern sen ries. That discipline must be most perfec which literature and philosophy are judicio combined. To the prosecution of philosophical dies the genius of the Scotish universities is unfavourable; but their classical fame seem be verging to its final decay. We now reco with mixed sensations of pride and desponde that there was a time when our countrymen

died the Greek and Roman languages with the utmost assiduity and success; when they were even thought to write and to speak the Latin more classically than the scholars of England[s].

The common practice of excluding the Greek tongue in a great measure from the grammar-schools, ought to be exploded as highly pernicious. The knowledge of this language which the student acquires during his academical course, is generally precarious, and most frequently imperfect. The plan lately recommended by Mr Christison is entitled to an immediate and unbiassed examination from those who are possest of the power of rectifying the errors of which it reminds them: and it is to be hoped that this plan will at length be adopted in the principal schools of North Britain. The utility and importance of the Greek language have always been warmly acknowledged by every competent judge: and the derogatory insinuations of men who are ignorant of its first principles ought not to influence the public mind. According to Menage, he who is unacquainted with this language is only half-learned. He who is ignorant of Greek, says Joseph Scaliger, is ignorant of every thing. These celebrated writers have perhaps exprest their approbation in too unqualified terms: and it would undoubtedly be safer to acquiesce in the modest and sensible de-

[s] Parr, Præfat. ad Bellenden. p. lxxi.

cision of Sir Thomas More. The man who with out a knowledge of the Greek language has ar rived at literary eminence, would have been ena bled to reach a more enviable height, if he ha added this to his other accomplishments[t].

When literary honours are scattered with partial or sordid hand, real merit is defrauded o a part of his patrimony. The gross perversion o academical degrees from their original and ge nuine principle, has often been objected to th Scotish universities; and certainly not withou abundance of reason. The traffic which for considerable time has been carried on by thos of Aberdeen and St Andrews, is sufficient to affi an eternal stigma on their character. The infa mous practice of conferring degrees on almos every man who is able and willing to purcha them, has been ridiculed by the novelist, has bee exposed by the poignant satire of the dramatis has been displayed in all its native absurdity b the ten thousand annual advertisements of D Samuel Solomon: but the shafts of ridicule ma be expected to fall harmless; for the practice i

[t] "Infinitum, mi Dorpi, fuerit explicare, quàm multa desunt ei c Græca desunt. Neque tamen ignoro, et alios multos, et te in primis i sum, sine Græcis literis ipsam doctrinæ arcem versus eousque provectur quò multi non possint etiam Græcè docti sudantes atque anhelantes asce dere. Sed hoc unum tamen ausim affirmare: si cæteris disciplinis tuis Græcas præterea literas adjeceris, quantùm nunc alios et Græcè perit exuperas, tantùm tunc te etiam ipsum superabis."

Mori Lucubrationes, p. 417. edit. Basil. 1563, 8vo.

gainful. Over this miserable degradation of our seminaries, however, the scholars of England have perhaps exulted with too much self-complacency. Of the mode in which they have themselves obtained their academical titles, we are not so totally ignorant as to be imprest with any high degree of positive respect for English graduates: the mystery has been completely unveiled by Dr Knox, Serjeant Miller, and other uncourteous writers who have not scrupled to detail facts and circumstances with the sobriety of truth. If the late Oxford decree with regard to the examination of candidates be enforced with becoming zeal, the abuses which formerly prevailed must necessarily undergo a salutary and complete reformation. At Cambridge however it may still be possible to obtain a degree, either by keeping an act, or by "paying for the same[u]." The English universities, if they do not manufacture diplomas for the use of such egregious scholars as Samuel Solomon and William Brodum, are at least sufficiently liberal in bestowing them on men who happen to bear the stamp of nobility: and this species of prostitution may safely be pronounced equally contemptible with the other.

But such accusations as these may be extended more widely. Whatever may be alleged to the contrary, it is too evident that academical de-

[u] Miller's Account of the University of Cambridge, p. 160. Lond. 1717, 8vo.

grees have never been conferred with much dis crimination. The Dutch universities, in thei more degenerate days, rendered themselves equal ly notorious with those of Aberdeen and St An drews[v]. Of the mode of obtaining degrees in law in the French universities, Menage presents u with a picture sufficiently ludicrous. The can didates for academical honours, says that cele brated writer, having galloped to Orleans in one day, are, in the course of another, dubbed licen tiates, and, within the space of a third, return t Paris learned in the laws: so that they seem in clined to profess in a serious manner, what Cicero jocularly affirmed of himself, that they have be come lawyers in three days[w]. The universitie of France, as I have learnt from a very intelligen emigrant, were accustomed to retail diplomas, a least for the faculty of law, on the same libera principles which are recognized in Scotland. Bu let us hasten to close the sad enumeration. Even at a period when scholastic exercises were much more willingly performed than they are at pre sent, degrees appear to have been conferred with a lavish hand in every university of Europe Vives challenged his cotemporaries to specify an instance of the rejection, during the space of two

[v] With respect to the state of the German universities about the era of the Reformation, consult the very ludicrous work of Ulricus Huttenus entitled *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum ad Dm. M. Ortuinum Gratium.*

[w] Menagii Juris Civilis Amœnitates, epist. ded.

hundred years, of a single candidate who was of sufficient standing, and who could command the requisite fees of admission, whatever might be his age, condition, character, capacity, or proficiency[x].

Such abuses therefore are not peculiar to Scotland. But grievances are not removed by finding their parallels in other countries.

Among the circumstances which chiefly operate in retarding the progress of classical learning, may also be enumerated the paucity of substantial rewards which await literary eminence. The number of professorships in the four universities is not very considerable: and some of these are apparently in danger of being registered among the commodities of city-politicians. To fellowships our colleges are total strangers. The bursaries, which might originally afford a competent provision, seem at present to partake of the na-

[x] "Nominent mihi vel unum iis ducentis annis rejectum, qui versatus præscripto tempore in scholis, certam illam pecuniam dependerit, quâcunque ætate, conditione, ingenio, peritiâ, moribus. Si quis non credit, inspiciat tot per Galliam cerdones, fartores, coquos, rhedarios, nautas, fabros, et pejores iis grassatores, latronésque, artium vel magistros, vel batalarios; nec desunt in Germania, nec in Italia. Si quis alibi non invenit, Romæ quærat. De licentiatis juris nihil scilicet possum dicere: sed hoc fortassis risu magis dignum, quærunt ubique lites, quas nutricent, puerāliter cavillando, et homines in odio illo detinent, molesti et clientibus, et adversariis, et judicibus. Illud dolendum magis, quòd annis omnibus tot batalarii, licentiati, magistri medicæ artis, ex academiis in vicos atque urbes, tanquam carnificum manus emittuntur."

VIVES de Causis Corruptarum Artium, p. 60.

ture of a mathematical point. The salaries of the parish schoolmasters have dwindled into a miserable pittance; and the landholders have too generally manifested a resolution to leave them in their present deteriorating condition. Many of the parochial teachers, as we have lately been assured, do not earn half the wages of a journeyman mason. The unmerited poverty of these humble scholars has sunk them beneath their proper level in society. In England the character of a schoolmaster is eminently respectable; and the present age has seen that profession adorned by Parr, Vincent, and Markham. It is to be hoped and even expected that those who value the prosperity of Scotland, will exert themselves in ameliorating the condition of an order of men whose useful labours entitle them to the gratitude of their fellow citizens. Till some exertions of this kind shall be made, we may remain silent spectators of the gradual encroachments of ignorance. When an irksome species of labour is so poorly rewarded, it need not be supposed that men of proper qualifications will often present themselves.

The partiality with which the vacancies in our schools are frequently supplied, is another ill-boding circumstance. The claims of the different candidates are professedly decided by a comparative trial; but this ceremony, it is well known, is on many occasions terminated by an act of in-

justice. The task of examination is generally left to the clergy: and when one of the competitors is *properly recommended*, his fortune is determined before the slightest enquiry is instituted with respect to his literary qualifications. This conduct indeed may sometimes arise from a distortion of benevolent sentiments; but in the mean time the cause of letters is exposed to deep and lasting injury.

These general assertions it were but too easy to strengthen by an enumeration of particular instances: but this would be a painful and perhaps a dangerous task. The observations which I have already presumed to state, will, I am aware, be sufficient to provoke abundance of hostility. These prevalent examples of a most baneful species of abuse, it however becomes every good citizen to execrate. When the rewards of literature are openly bestowed upon sycophants, such a remonstrance as the present may be ineffectual, but it certainly cannot be deemed superfluous.

# DISSERTATION

ON THE

# *EARLY SCOTISH DRAMA.*

A

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IT is remarked by Maximus Tyrius, that the Athenian stage derived its remote origin from the rude and extemporaneous songs of the husbandmen, who were accustomed to assemble after having closed the annual labours of the seed-time and harvest[a]. If such was the progress of a national drama which at length attained to so high a degree of perfection, it were but rational to suppose, that the dramatic poetry of Scotland, a country which has never been distinguished by its successful cultivation of this department of literature, must have arisen from no very pure source.

[a] Maximi Tyrii Dissertationes, p. 437. edit. Markland.

Dramatic representation is generally understood to have been indebted for its revival to the ostentatious genius of the Catholic religion. During the middle ages, learning, or even an acquaintance with the letters of the alphabet, was almost exclusively confined to the different orders of ecclesiastics. With a view of dispelling the perpetual clouds of monastic indolence, they occasionally had recourse to dramatic exhibitions; which, from the circumstance of their being commonly founded on the more mystical passages of the Scriptures, were denominated mysteries. These exhibitions took place in the churches and other sacred edifices, and were regarded as acts of devotion.

Representations of this kind prevailed in Scotland as well as in the other countries of Europe[b]; but whether they were introduced at an early period, cannot easily be ascertained. Players of a different character seem to be specified in the laws ascribed to Macbeth. It is there enacted that players and other idle vagrants shall be enjoined to betake themselves to some mechanical occupation; and that such as neglect to obey this mandate, shall be treated like beasts of burthen, and compelled to draw the plough or the cart. An exception is however made in favour of those who have received the royal licence to exercise

[b] Buchanan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 190. edit. Ruddiman.

their profession[c].—The word which I have here translated players, is *histriones:* but this term, as sufficiently appears from the glossary of Du Cange, is often applied in a very indefinite manner. The *histriones* and *ludiones* mentioned in the statute were perhaps jugglers and tumblers. So lately as the reign of Queen Mary of England, tumblers were introduced for the diversion of the court[d]. The character of the juggler does not appear to have been unknown in Scotland. Holland, in his allegorical description of the assembly of fowls, has thus represented the jay:

Quhen thay had sangin and said softly a schoure,
And plaid as of paradyss it a poynt ware,
In came japane the ja, as a jugloure,
With castis and with cantelis, a quynt caryare.
He gart thame see, as it semyt, in samin houre,
Hunting at herdis in holtis so haire;
Soune sailand on the see schippis of toure;
Bernis batalland on burd, brym as a bare:
He could carye the coup of the kingis des,
Syne leve in the stede
Bet a blak bunwede:
He coud of a henis hede
Mak a man mes.

Innumerable bands of tumblers, buffoons, rope-dancers, minstrels, and players, were at a certain

[c] Boëthii Scotorum Historia, f. 251. a. edit. Paris. 1574, fol.

[d] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 302.

period retained in the courts of princes[e]. Between these professions it is not always easy to draw a discriminative line; several of them were occasionally exercised by the same individual. In tracing the history of the early Scotish drama, there is some danger of our encroaching upon the province of the minstrels; whose recitations might sometimes be thought to partake of the nature of dramatic representation. It will however be necessary to collect every detached hint which promises to illustrate the present subject. In this sketch the character of the professional buffoon or jester seems to merit a place. Men of this description are not unfrequently mentioned by our early writers. A *fool* belonged to the household establishment of James the Fifth[f], and probably to that of other Scotish monarchs[g]. It appears to have been the duty of this personage to amuse his patron with sallies of wit and humour; with bold and unexpected remarks on the occurrences of the day; with ludicrous representations

[e] Burney's History of Music, vol. ii. p. 316.

[f] Lindsay's History of Scotland, p. 205.

[g] Archy Armstrong, fool to James the Sixth, is said to have been a native of Cumberland; but a tradition is still preserved of his having resided in Wauchopedale, and exercised his ingenuity in purloining sheep and other articles necessary to a householder.—He accompanied Prince Charles in his romantic expedition to Madrid. "Our cousin Archy," says Howell, "hath more privilege than any, for he often goes with his fool's coat where the Infanta is with her *meninas* and ladies of honour, and keeps a blowing and blustering among them, and flurts out what he lists." (*Familiar Letters*, p. 136.) Archy is also mentioned in Sir Anthony Weldon's *Court and Character of K. James*, p. 91.

of incident and character. He wore a fantastic and party coloured garment; and endeavoured by every art to attract the attention of the prince or baron by whom he was entertained. He was exposed to the wit or folly of every joker; and, in his turn, was privileged to exercise his professional talents without respect to rank.

The following passage in *The Priests of Peblis* tends to illustrate the nature of this grotesque appendage of the feudal court:

Sa ouir the sey cummin thair was a clark
Of greit science, of voyce, word, and wark,
And dressit him, with al his besynes,
Thus with this king to mak his recidens.
Weil saw he with this king micht na man byde,
Bot thay that wald al sadnes set on syde.
With club, and bel, and partie cote with eiris,
He feinyeit him ane fule, fond in his feiris.
French, Dutche, and Italie yit als,
Weil could he speik, and Latine feinye fals.
Unto the kirk he came befoir the king,
With club, and cote, and monie bel to ring.
*Dieu gard!* Sir King, I bid nocht hald in hiddil:
I am to yow als sib as seif is to ane riddil.
Betwixt us twa mot be als mekil grace,
As frost and snaw fra Yule is unto Pace.
Wait yee how the Frenche man sayis syne?
*Nul bon*, he sayis, *Monsieur, sans pyne.*
With that he gave ane loud lauchter on loft:—
Honour and eis, Sir, quha may have for nocht?
Cum on thy way, Sir King; now for Sanct Jame,
Thow with me, or I with the, gang hame.

Now, be Sanct Katherine, quod the king and smyld,
This fule hes monie waverand word and wyld.

Ridiculous as such a character may appear, it found general encouragement in the most refined nation of antiquity: the jester, or γελωτοποιος, was known at Athens during the age of Xenophon and Plato. In support of this assertion it will only be necessary to appeal to a passage in the writings of the former. "After the guests were placed at supper," says Xenophon, "Philip the jester, having knocked at the door, announced his readiness to divert the company. I am provided, added he, with every thing that may qualify a man for partaking of his neighbour's feast; and my boy is also completely wearied with carrying nothing. You all know that I am a jester, cried Philip presenting himself in the banqueting-apartment: I have thus visited you of my own accord; being persuaded that it is more comical to come to a feast without any invitation, than to wait for that ceremony[h]."

Boyce and Lesley have informed us, that Randolph Earl of Murray, in his capacity of regent, imposed a restraint on vagrants of various descriptions, and, among the rest, on players or *histriones*[i].

h Xenophontis Opera, vol. iv. p. 428. edit. Thieme.

i Lesley's account will be found in the life of Henry the Minstrel. The following is that of his predecessor: "Vetuit quoque saluberrimo

During the reign of James the First, it is affirmed, "the court, and, by that example, the country, was become too soft and delicate, superfluous in all delights and pleasures. *Masques*, banqueting, gorgeous apparel, revelling, were not only licensed, but studied and admired[j]" These probably bore a remote affinity to the masques which at a later period were so frequently exhibited at the English court. The authority on which Drummond has hazarded this statement, seems to be that of Buchanan; who, among other changes which took place under the administration of K. James, enumerates the frequent exhibition of *personatæ saltationes*[k].

At the celebration of the nuptials of James the Fourth and the Lady Margaret, a company of English comedians, under the management of John English, regaled the court with a dramatic representation. "After dynnar," says John Younge, "a moralite was played by the said Master Inglishe and hys companyons, in the presence of the kyng and qwene; and then daunces war daunced[l]."

exemplo, nullos ullâ regione histriones, vagos et nusquam certas habentes sedes, aut ludicras artes exercentes, in urbes recipi, extra tibicines, tubicinesque peritos, nec nisi victum artificio præterea alio quæritantes."

Boëthii Scotorum Historia, f. 310. a.

j Drummond's Hist. of Scotland, p. 17. Lond. 1655, fol.

k Buchanan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 191.

l Leland. de Rebus Britan. Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 309.

In England the character of the Abbot of Misrule was known at a pretty early period. Dr Stuart has remarked, that in Scotland a personage of the same kind, under the appellation of the Abbot of Unreason, seems to have been still more common, and even so familiar in the lowest ranks of civil life, that he at length became a public nuisance[m].

In the city of Aberdeen, this character was distinguished by the title of Abbot of Bon-Accord[n]. In the year 1445 the town-council resolved, that for the future no fees should be

[m] Stuart's View of Society in Europe, p. 401. Edinb. 1778, 4to.

[n] In a poem entitled *Propemptikon Charitum Abredonensium*, and subscribed *Bon-Accord*, the following passages occur:

Scilicet his placuit *Bona* sic *Cordantia* nostræ
Lemma urbis) nostris adscripti ut civibus omen
Firment, jam leges Fatorum poscere, gentem
Utraque ut auspiciis gens his coalescat in unam.

Namque, ut nos hilares sollda inter gaudia noctes
Egerimus, testes vestro hoc clamore secundo
Quæ fremuere viæ, *Bon-Accord*, Abredonia testis,
Testes tot choreæ Bacchi inter pocula lætæ.

From these allusions it may perhaps be concluded, that the ancient custom was not abolished at the time when this poem was composed. The poem is to be found in Adamson's collection entitled "Τα των Μουσων Εξοδια· Planctus et Vota Musarum in Augustissimi Monarchæ Jacobi Recessu è Scotia in Angliam." Edinb. 1618, fol.

The following extract from the life of Bishop Forbes prefixed to his *Considerationes Modestæ et Pacificæ*, also refers to this ancient institution: "Redux autem (bono cum Deo) factus, quàm clero gratus, quàm amicis charus, quàm omnibus expectatus advenit! Consul senatusque Abredonensis omnibus humanitatis officiis complectuntur, et juxta Bonæ Concordiæ pristinam consuetudinem, ad testandum tam eximio viro, concivis filio, fœliciter reduci benevolentiam, municipem creant."

paid to this abbot: but the institution was too congenial to the spirit of the inhabitants to be easily abolished; and in 1486 his annual allowance was settled at ten marks. The Abbot of Bon-Accord superintended the representation of the mysteries. About the year 1445 the mystery of *The Halie Blude* was acted on the Windmill-hill[o].

In 1515, when John Duke of Albany arrived from France in order to undertake the regency, the citizens of Edinburgh manifested their joy by the exhibition of "most facetious comedies and exquisite spectacles[p]." These spectacles must have been pageants; a species of entertainment with which our ancestors appear to have been familiarly acquainted. As splendid shows of this description are in some degree allied to the genius of the drama, they are here entitled to a share of our attention. The most remarkable pageants mentioned by our early writers, seem to be those which in the year 1538 were exhibited at St Andrews, in honour of the arrival of Mary of Guise. "The queen," says Lindsay, "landed in Scotland at the place called Fyfeness, near Balcomy, where she remained till horse came to her. But the king was in St Andrews, with many of his nobility, waiting upon

[o] Chalmers, Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare-Papers, p. 415. Lond. 1797, 8vo.

[p] Leslæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 359.

her home-coming. Then he, seeing that she was landed in such a part, he rode forth himself to meet her, with the whole lords spiritual and temporal, with many barons, lairds, and gentlemen, who were convened for the time at St Andrews in their best array; and received the queen with great honours and plays made to her. And first, she was received at the new Abbey-gate: upon the east side thereof there was made to her a triumphant arch by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lyon Herald, which caused a great cloud come out of the heavens above the gate, and open instantly; and there appeared a fair lady most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the queen, in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive her Grace; with certain orations and exhortations made by the said Sir David Lindsay to the queen, instructing her to serve her God, obey her husband, and keep her body clean according to God's will and commandments." When they visited Edinburgh, "great triumphs, farces, and plays, 'were' made unto the Queen's Grace on the expences of the said town: And so was then likewise in Dundee the space of six or eight days, very magnificently treated by the town when the queen made her entress[q]."

About this period Sir David Lindsay had begun

[q] Lindsay's History of Scotland. p. 249. 251.

to cultivate dramatic poetry. One play of his composition has been preserved: nor does it appear that he was the author of any other work of this description. It is entitled *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis;* but the principal burthen of his satire falls upon the ecclesiastics. In this curious relique we discover few traces of dramatic character or incident: allegorical and real persons are unskilfully grouped together; and a very slight degree of attention is paid to probability. The different parts have but little connection with each other. The expression is in many instances highly gross and indecent. This work however is not entirely devoid of humour: and in the Scotish populace of that æra it must undoubtedly have excited infinite delight.

The following extract is from one of the speeches of a pardoner:

My potent pardonnis ye may se,
Cum fra the,Can of Tartarie
    Weill seilit with ester schellis.
Thocht ye haif no discretioun,
Ye sall haiff full remissioun
    With help of buikis and bellis.
Heir is a rellik, lang and braid,
Of Fynmakowll the richt chaft blade,
    With teith, and all togeddir.
Of Collingis kow heir is a horne,
For eitting of Makameillis corne
    Was slane into Baquhidder.

Heir is the cordis, baith grit and lang,
Quhilk hangit Johnnie Armstrang,
Of gud hempt, soft and sound:
Gude haly pepill, I stand ford,
Quhavir beis hangit in this cord,
Neidis nevir to be dround.
The culum of St Bryddis cow;
The grunttill of Santt Antonis sow,
Quhilk bure his haly bell;
Quha evir heiris this bell clink,
Gife me a duccat to the drink,
He sall nevir gang till hell,
Withowt he be with Belliall borne.
Maisteris, trew ye that this be scorne?
Cum, win this pardone, cum!
Quha luvis thair wyvis not with thair hairt,
I haif power thame to depairt:
Me think you deif and dum.
Hes nane of yow curst wickett wyvis
That haldis you into sturt and stryvis?
Cum, tak my dispensatioun:
Off that cummer I sall mak yow quyt,
Howbeid your self be in the wyte,
And mak an fals narratioun.
Cum wyn the pardone, now lat see,
For meill, for malt, or for money,
For cok, hen, guse, or gryss.
Off rellikkis heir I haif a hunder:
Quhy cum ye not? This is a wondir:
I trow ye be not wyss.

This precious drama is supposed to have been represented at Linlithgow in the year 1539[r]. It

[r] Mr Ritson, in the corrections of his *Historical Essay on Scotish Song*, has presented us with the following particulars relative to this exhibition:

was also " playit beside Edinburgh, in presence of the Quene Regent, and ane greit part of the nobilitie, with ane exceiding greit nowmer of pepill; lestand fra nyne houris afoir none til six houris at euin[s]." From one of the stage-directions it appears, that at a proper season the representation was suspended, and the spectators were permitted to refresh themselves during the interval. Spectators who remain in their station for the space of nine hours, must certainly meet with no slight degree of entertainment. Lindsay's

" This date (1539) is ascertained beyond the possibility of a doubt, by a curious original letter from sir William Eure to some nobleman of the English court, dated Berwick, 26 January (1539). There had been a border-meeting at Coldstream on the 21st. of that month, at which sir William was informed, by master Bellendyn, one of the Scotish commissioners, that 'by the kynges pleasour, he being privy thereunto, they 'had' hade ane enterluyde played in the feaste of the epiphane of our lorde last paste, before the king and queene at Lighqwoe, and the hoole counsaille spirituall and temporall.' He likewise transmits a copy of 'the nootes of the enterluyde,' which says he, 'I have obteigned from a Scottesman of our sorte, being present at the playing of the said enterluyde.' These notes contain a particular description of the piece in question, which evidently appears to have been Lindsays 'Satyre of thrie estaits.' This important communication is preserved in a MS. of the royal library in the Museum (7 C xvi.) and clearly proves, that James V. was better inclined to a reformation of religion than he appeared to be to sir Ralph Sadler. So that it is by no means an argument of Mackenzies folly to tell us that Lindsays works were first printed at Edinburgh, 1540: 'as if, exclaims Mr Pinkerton, works against the Papists could, in 1540, be printed at Edinburgh!'-----One may reasonably presume, that if such works could be publicly represented at Linlinthgow, in 1539, they might be safely printed at Edinburgh in 1540. The expressions, inconsistent with the above date, in the Hyndford MS. must of course have been introduced after the original representation."

[s] H. Charters, Preface to Lindsay's Warkis.

*Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* was also acted on the Castle-hill at Cowpar.

According to Dr Mackenzie, Sir James Inglis, who is said to have died in 1554, was the author of several tragedies and comedies[t]. His only authority for this assertion is probably the following passage in Lindsay:

> Quha can say mair than Schir James Inglis sayis
> In ballattis, farsis, and in plesand playis?

On the authority of various writers Mr Dalyell has stated, that about this time "a black friar Killor, converted the history of Christ's Passion, a favourite topic in France and England, into a dramatic form; which, it would appear, was performed before the king on a Good Friday morning; and, speaking rather too freely of ecclesiastics and persecution, he was burnt. One James Wedderburn wrote plays in the Scotish language. In a tragedy on the beheading of John the Baptist, he treated the corruptions of religion severely; and, in a comedy, the history of Dionysius the Tyrant, he likewise attacked the Papists;—which were both performed at Dundee. 'He counterfeeted also the coniuring of a ghaist'."[u]

In the year 1555 an act of parliament had been past, by which it was ordained, "that in all

[t] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 40.

[u] Dalyell's Remarks on ane Booke of Godly Songs, p. 31.

times cummyng, na maner of person be chosen Robert Hude, nor Little John, Abbot of Unreason, Queenis of May, nor otherwise, nouther in burgh nor to landwart[v]." This statute however was little regarded: and in 1560 a tumult was the consequence of such a prohibition. "The Papists and Bishops," says John Knox, "disappointed of their principall enterprize, did yet make broyle for trouble: For the rascall multitude were stirred up to make a Robin Hood, which enormitie was of many years left off, and condemned by statute and act of parliament; yet would they not bee forbidden, but would disobey, and trouble the town, especially upon the night: Whereat the bayliffs offended, took from them some swords and enseyne, which was occasion that they that same night made a mutinie, kept the gatis of the towne, and intended to have pursued some men within their owne houses; but that, upon the restitution of their swords and enseyne, was stayed. And yet they ceased not to molest, as well the inhabitants of Edinburgh, as divers countrey-men, taking from them money, and threatening some with farther injuries: Wherewith the magistrates of the towne highly offended, took more diligent heed to such as resorted to the towne, and so apprehended one of the principall

[v] Skene's Actes of Parliament, f. 150. a. Edinb. 1597, fol.

of that disorder, named Balon a shooe-maker, whom they put to an assizes[w]."

Alexander Scot, in his *Gratulatioun of the Moneth of May*, a poem written about this period, expresses his regret, that these games should have lost their ancient splendour:

In May quhen men yied everichone,
With Robene Hoid and Littil John,
To bring in bowis and birkin bobynis;
Now all sic game is fastlings gone,
Bot gif it be amangs clowin Robbynis[x].

At the baptism of James the Sixth, which was solemnized at Stirling on the eighteenth of December, 1566, a kind of rude attempt at theatrical representation was exhibited to the courtiers. We are informed by Sir James Melvil, that "a French-man called Bastien devised a number of men formed like Satyrs, with long tails, and whips in their hands, running before the meat, which was brought through the great hall upon a machine or engine marching, as appeared, alone; the musicians, clothed like maids, singing and playing upon all sorts of instruments. But the Satyrs were not content only to make way or room, but put their hands behind them to their tails, which they wagged with their hands in such

[w] Knox's Historie of the Reformatioun, p. 295.

[x] Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. iii. p. 161.

sort as the English-men supposed it had been devised and done in derision of them, weakly apprehending that which they should not have appeared to understand.---Mr Hatton said unto me, if it were not in the queen's presence he would put a dagger to the heart of that French knave Bastien[y]."

On the seventeenth of January, 1568, a play written by Robert Semple was represented at Edinburgh before the regent and others of the nobility[z].

In the general assembly constituted at Edinburgh on the seventh of March, 1575, it was enacted, that "no comedies, nor tragedies, or such plays, should be made on any history of canonical Scriptures, nor on the Sabbath day: If any minister be the writer of such a play, he shall be deprived of his ministry. As for plays of another kind, they also should be examined before they be propounded publicly[a]."

In 1576 the assembly refused its permission to the bailie of Dunfermline, to represent on Sunday afternoon a certain play which was not founded on the canonical part of the Scriptures[b]. Dr

[y] Melvil's Memoires, p. 76. Lond. 1683, fol.

[z] Birrel's Diarey, p. 14. apud Dalyell.

[a] Petrie's Compendious History of the Catholick Church, cent. xvi. p. 385. Hague, 1662, fol.

[b] See extracts from *The Buik of the Universal Kirk*, published in Lord Hailes's *Historical Memorials concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy*, p. 41. Edinb. 1769, 4to.

Percy remarks, that Sunday was the day originally set apart for theatrical representation; probably because the first dramatic pieces were of a religious complexion. During a great part of Queen Elizabeth's reign the English playhouses were only opened on that day of the week[c].

In 1577 it was enacted by the assembly, "that the playes of Robin Hood, King of May, and such others on the sabbath day be discharged[d]." Two years afterwards it was carried into a resolution, that such individuals as after due admonition persisted in frequenting May plays, should not be admitted to the communion of the church, without yielding satisfaction for the specified offence[e].

These insulated facts tend to evince, that exhibitions of this kind were among the favourite recreations of our ancestors. The frequent interference of the church was necessary to prevent or to reform abuses: and on these occasions the reformed clergy appear to have acted with sufficient liberality and moderation.

For many years succeeding this period, no regular theatre was established in the Scotish metropolis. The plays, it would appear, were still performed in the *play-field* between Leith and Edinburgh: and in all probability the performers

[c] Percy's Essay on the Origin of the English Stage, p. 151.

[d] Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotl. p. 78.—1678, fol.

[e] Hailes, Historical Memorials, p. 41.

were only casually collected. Before the year 1633, no fewer than nineteen playhouses had been opened in London[f].

A company of English comedians visited Edinburgh in 1599. The clergy were offended at the arrival of such guests, and began to exclaim in their sermons against the vicious conduct of players. Notwithstanding the royal licence which had been granted, they even ventured to prohibit the inhabitants, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, from frequenting the dramatic representations: but on the interference of King James, they were under the necessity of repealing the act[g].

At Edinburgh in the year 1603 was published "Ane verie excellent and delectabill treatise intitulit PHILOTUS." From the language and style we may perhaps conclude, that the composition and publication of this curious play were nearly of the same date. It is possible however that an edition somewhat earlier may have existed. In the *messenger's* address to the audience these verses occur:

> Last, sirs, now let us pray with ane accord,
> For to preserve the persoun of our *king*;
> Accounting ay this gift as of the Lord,
> Ane prudent prince above us for to ring.

[f] Percy's Essay on the Origin of the English Stage, p. 147.

[g] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 457.

The work seems of a more modern date thar
reign of King James the Fifth: and from t
words of the messenger, it is certain that it
not composed during the reign of Queen Ma

The following argument was prefixed to
edition published at Edinburgh in 1612: "
lotus, an olde rich man, is enamoured with
love of Emilia, daughter to Alberto, who b
refused, imployeth a macrell, or pandrous
allure her thereto, but all in vain: afterwar
dealeth with her father Alberto, who being bl
ed with the man's wealth, useth first faire w
and thereafter threatnings, to perswade her th
to: the mayde still refuseth. In the mean
Flavius, a young man, enters in conference
the mayde, and obtaineth her consent, who
ing disguised, conveyeth herselfe away pri
with the said Flavius. Her father and Phil
searches for her in the house. Philerno,
maydes brother, laitlie arryved out of other c
tries (being very lyke her), is mistaken by
father and Philotus to be Emilia; who takes
person of his sister upon him, and, after div
threatnings of his father, consenteth to m
Philotus: and so Philotus committeth Phil
to the custodie of his daughter Brisilla, untill
marriage should be accomplished. Philerno fa
himselfe to Brisilla to be transformed in a r
and so maketh himselfe familiar with her. Th
after, Philerno is married to Philotus; who

ing to be discovered, maketh a brawling that same night with Philotus, and abuseth him vyllie; and to colour the matter the better, agreeth with a whore to go to bed with Philotus. Flavius seeing the supposed Emilia to bee married to Philotus, imagines the right Emilia to be a devill, and, after many conjurations, expelleth her his house: she returneth to her father Alberto, acknowledging her misbehaviour, and lamenting her case. Flavius being sent for, perceiving how he had mistaken Emilia, revealeth the whole trueth, and so taketh her home agane to his wife, and Philerno Brisilla. In the end, Philotus bewaileth his follie for pursuing so unequall a match, warning all men to beware, by his example."

The comedy of *Philotus* exhibits a dramatic plot sufficiently complex. In several instances the laws of probability are undoubtedly violated; but the conduct of the piece is less irregular than might have been expected. Its construction approaches much nearer to that of the modern drama than Lindsay's *Satyre*. The versification possesses no inconsiderable degree of facility. The speeches are generally long and declamatory. The division into acts and scenes is not adopted.

About the time of the union of the two crowns, William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, began to compose his *Monarchicke Tragedies*. These are four in number; namely *Crœsus*, *Darius*, *The Alexandræan Tragedie*, and *Julius Cæsar*.

The author does not seem to have intended them for representation; nor is their form very dramatic. The reader's attention is not solicited by plots and incidents: the characters are chiefly occupied in discussing the general principles of ethics and politics; and their speeches frequently extend to a most enormous length. The tone of his sentiments and diction is however energetic and manly. He has unfortunately adopted the elegiac quatrain; a mode of versification by no means suited to dramatic composition. He has followed the ancient usage of introducing a chorus; but his lyrical pieces are not very spirited or elegant. Seneca appears to have been the writer whom he proposed as his model: both poets are equally fond of declamation, and of pointed sentences.

The Latin dramas composed by natives of Scotland are not here entitled to much of our notice; as it is not certain that any of them was ever represented in this country.

With respect to the works which Bishop Douglas is said to have produced under the title of comedies, it would be idle to form conjectures. One author denominates them *Comoediæ*[h], another *Comoediæ Sacræ*[i]. Whether they were written in Latin or in Scotish, is not apparent. Their title

[h] Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 218. Basil. 1557, fol.

[i] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 221.

affords no evidence of their being dramatic compositions: for, about the period when Douglas flourished, tragedy and comedy were terms of very indefinite application.

Of these cómic productions of Douglas, if in reality they ever existed, some vague notion may perhaps be formed by inspecting the *Comoediæ Sacræ* of Cornelius Schonæus. The writer seems to have termed them comedies, because, in the issue, the principal characters are always fortunate. The dialogue and the incidents are by no means of a comic nature; for he has selected his subjects from the sacred volume, and has endeavoured to treat them in a manner calculated for advancing the interests of piety and virtue. He professes to have regarded Terence as his model: and, if we may credit himself, he is no unsuccessful imitator of that poet's style; for we are given to understand, that certain erudite Germans hailed him by the title of the Christian Terence[j]. Between his compositions however and those of the ancient poet, no striking resemblance will very readily be traced, except in those passages where he purloins the phraseology of his master. Schonæus was rector of the grammar-school of Haerlem; and from the prologues it appears that his sacred comedies were represented by his own pupils. These dramas, notwithstanding their

j Schonæi Comœdiæ, tom. ii. p. 4. Amst. 1599, 8vo.

dulness, seem to have been favourably received: during his own life they twice visited the press, blazoned by the encomiums of many a poetaster; and in the time of Morhof they continued to be redd in some of the continental schools[k].

The plan of selecting dramatic subjects from the sacred writings, adopted in later times by Buchanan, Grotius, and Racine, appears to have derived its origin from a remote æra. During the fourth century many Greek tragedies of this description had been composed, with the pious intention of expelling the Pagan dramas from the theatre of Constantinople. One of these has been preserved under the title of *Christ Suffering*, and is commonly published among the works of Gregory Nazianzen: but Dr Cave, without supporting his decision by arguments, has ventured to attribute it to the elder Apollinarius[l].

Buchanan's four tragedies were written during his residence at Bourdeaux, and, according to the practice which generally prevailed, were acted by the students of the university[m]. In furnishing them with models of this kind, it was his principal object to explode the absurd mysteries, which still maintained the highest popularity in

[k] Morhofii Polyhistor, tom. i. p. 1069.

[l] Cave, Historia Literaria, p. 177. Lond. 1688, fol.

[m] Buchanani Vita ab Ipsomet Scripta, p. 4.——See also Mr Ruddiman's notes, and Sir Robert Sibbald's *Commentarius in Vitam Buchanani*, p. 13. Edinb. 1702, 8vo.

France. These tragedies, as Le Clerc has remarked, are not the most finished of Buchanan's productions; but they undoubtedly contributed in some measure to revive the spirit of the ancient drama[n].

Dempster's tragedy, entitled *Decemviratus Abrogatus*[o], was performed in the University of Paris; and, as he informs Thuanus in the dedication, was honoured with the attendance of a very numerous and splendid auditory. Its structure is by no means classical[p].

Such was the progress of our dramatic poetry till the commencement of the seventeenth century. Were we to trace it to a later period, the prospect would be found still more barren. Sir Thomas Sydserf and Mrs Cockburn[q] are the only

[n] Roger Ascham has bestowed high commendation on Buchanan's *Jephthes*: "Some in Englande, moe in France, Germanie, and Italie also, have written tragedies in our tyme: of which, not one, I am sure, is able to abyde the trew touch of Aristotle's preceptes, and Euripides' example, save onely two, that ever I saw, M. Watson's *Absalon*, and Georgius Buchananus' *Jephthe*." (*Schole Master*, p. 320. Bennet's edit.) Buchanan's tragedy is not however so accurately constructed according to the rules of Aristotle as this learned writer seems to have supposed: for the dramatic action, as Vossius has remarked, extends to at least two months. (*Institutiones Poeticæ*, p. 13.)

[o] Tragœdia Decemviratus Abrogatus. Paris. 1613, 12mo.

[p] This is the only tragedy of Dempster's with which I am acquainted; but he is said to have composed other three, namely *Maximilianus*, *Stilico*, and *Jacobus I. Scotiæ Rex*. See the catalogue of his writings, inserted in his *Apparatus ad Historiam Scoticam*, &c. Bononiæ, 1622, 4to. and in T Coke's preface to Dempster's treatise *De Etruria Regali*, Florent. 1723-4, 2 tom. fol.

[q] Sir Thomas Sydserf is the author of a comedy entitled *Tarrugo's*

names that occur till we descend to the age of Thomson, Mallet, and Armstrong: and even during the eighteenth century the dramatic poets of Scotland have seldom attained to any high degree of excellence. Our countrymen are in a great measure strangers to the true dramatic spirit. Into the causes of this striking deficiency, it would be superfluous to institute a formal enquiry; they are such as every observer must readily discover. The removal of the court from our metropolis, and the consequent necessity of writing in a foreign dialect, were circumstances fatal to every department of literature; but their influence extended with more baneful efficacy to the peculiar genius of dramatic poetry.

*Wiles*. He is also said to have written a play intitled *Marciano, or the Discovery*.

Catherine Trotter, the daughter of David Trotter and Sarah Ballenden, natives of Scotland, was born at London in the year 1679. In 1708 she was married to Mr Cockburn, a Scotish clergyman of the episcopal persuasion; and died in 1749, in the seventy-first year of her age. She is the author of several works, theological, philosophical, dramatic, and poetical. Her more serious compositions obtained the approbation of Locke, Warburton, and Burnet; her dramatic writings, of Congreve Farquhar, and Hughes.—In 1751 an incomplete edition of her works was published in two volumes octavo; to which Dr Birch has prefixed an accurate account of her life and writings.

THE

# LIFE

OF

# *THOMAS LERMONT.*

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THE intellectual attainments of those who at an early period in the history of refinement have exceeded the ordinary standard of excellence, are generally estimated among cotemporaries with all the partiality of blind admiration: and the adventitious honours which they thus obtain, are almost invariably augmented by the credulity and national prejudices of succeeding generations. Every nation, however insignificant in the eyes of neighbouring states, is apt to represent its own genius and valour as unparalleled; and even those nations which least require the aid of factitious aggrandizement, have frequently stooped to blend falsehood with truth in the brightest pages of their civil and literary annals.

Thomas Lermont, a name which Scotland formerly viewed with reverence almost equal to that which Orpheus obtained in Greece, continued till a recent period to be recognized in the combined character of prophet and poet. The talents and qualifications which procured him this distinction, must certainly have been of no vulgar denomination: but of his real merits, it is to be feared, a correct estimate cannot now be formed.

The history of his life and writings is involved in impenetrable obscurity. His very name has produced antiquarian discussion. Mr David Macpherson contends that he was baptized Lermont by Hector Boyce: but it would perhaps be difficult to assign any adequate motive for such a frivolous innovation as is here imputed to the historian; and his real name is completely ascertained by its occurrence in ancient charters. In one charter, says Nisbet, he is called Thomas Rymor; but in others of an earlier date, Thomas Learmount of Ercildoun[a]. It was his poetical fame that procured him the denomination of the Rhymer; by which he is still known among the common people of Scotland.

He was the descendant of a respectable house. The principal family of his name was that of Esselment: and from it he is said to have de-

[a] Nisbet's System of Heraldry, vol. i. p. 134.

rived his origin[b]. Nisbet has on one occasion styled him Sir Thomas Lermont[c]; but on what authority, it would not perhaps be easy to discover. He probably became the founder of a new family, which at first took its title from Ercildon, or, according to the modern corruption, Earlston, a village situated in the county of Berwick, at a small distance from Melrose. Dempster affirms, that this family continued to flourish during his time[d].

The period of his birth is unknown: but he must have reached the height of his reputation about the year 1283; for it was during this year that he is reported to have predicted the death of Alexander the Third.

Whether he either deluded himself or attempted to delude others with pretended divinations, it would now be fruitless to enquire: but certain it is that the fame of a prophet has always attached itself to his name. Dempster assures us that Eliza, an inspired nun of Haddington, flourished during the same æra; and that from her writings, as well as in repeated conferences with the author, Lermont received many of his divina-

[b] Nisbet's System of Heraldry, vol. i. p. 170.

[c] Nisbet's Essay on Additional Figures and Marks of Cadency, p. 158. Edinb. 1702, 8vo.

[d] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 438.

tions[e]. This idle tale is also told by Dr Mackenzie[f].

Lermont had at least one son. In the year 1299 the younger Thomas of Ercildon disposed of the estate of Ercildon to the Trinity House of Soltra[g]. The poet must have been dead when this conveyance took place. Patrick Gordon, who has introduced Lermont into his heroic poem, places his death in the year 1307[h]. His mode of ascertaining this date I have never been able to discover: if he do not speak in the character of a poet, but in that of a historian, he must have had access to sources of information with which we at present are totally unacquainted.

Lermont is mentioned in his prophetic capacity by many of our early writers: and, in the absence of more valuable materials, it may not be improper to collect the most curious of their various notices.

Barbour, who wrote about the year 1370, in-

[e] "Eliza Hadintonia sanctimonialis, ac poetria insignis, è qua multa Thomas Leirmonth hausit, non modo è scriptis ejus, sed etiam à consultatione: hæc cum esset beatissimæ virgini addictissima, fertur multa utilia et cælitus vidisse, et humiliter aperuisse. Scripsit Rythmos Vaticinales, lib. i. quos hæretici ingenti piaculo, patrum memoriâ, excusserunt. Vixit anno MCCXXCIV."

DEMPSTER. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 369.

[f] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. i. p. 394.

[g] The deed of conveyance may be found in Mr Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. ii. p. 245.

[h] Gordon's Bruce, sig. H. ij. Dort, 1615, 4to.

troduces Bishop Lamberton expressing himself in the following terms:

> I hop Thomas prophecy
> Off Hersildowne weryfyd be
> In hym; for swa our Lord help me![1]

Bower, who flourished about the year 1430, presents us with a circumstantial account of Lermont's prediction relative to the fate of Alexander the Third. On the night preceding the king's death, Thomas of Ercildon visiting the castle of Dunbar, was interrogated by the Earl of March, in the jocular manner which he was wont to assume with this reputed prophet, if to-morrow should produce any remarkable event. The said Thomas, fetching a heavy sigh from the very bottom of his heart, is reported to have exprest himself distinctly to this effect: "Alas for to-morrow! a day of calamity and of misery! Before the twelfth hour, shall be heard a blast so vehement, that it shall exceed those of every former period; a blast which shall strike the nations with amazement, shall reduce those who hear it to a state of insensibility, shall humble what is proud, and what is fierce shall level with the ground!" The solemnity of this denunciation made some impression on the earl and his companions: but having next day continued on the

[1] Barbour's Bruce, vol. i. p. 36. Pinkerton's edit.

watch till the ninth hour, without being able to remark any unusual appearance in the elements, they began to deride Thomas as a driveller, and afterwards hastened to enjoy their wonted repast. The earl had scarcely placed himself at table, and the hand of the dial pointed towards the hour of noon, when a messenger appeared before the gate, and with importunate strokes demanded instant admission. On entering the castle and being questioned concerning news, he exclaimed, "I do indeed bring news, but of a lamentable kind; to be deplored by the whole realm of Scotland! Alas! our renowned king has yesterday ended his life at Kinghorn." When the messenger paused, the earl and his companions roused themselves as from a profound sleep; and, beating their breasts in the agony of despair, acknowledged that the prediction of Thomas had been fatally verified[j].

Winton and Henry have also represented Lermont as endowed with the spirit of divination[k]. They are equally puzzled with respect to the origin of the power which they acknowledge him to have possest.

Mair and Boyce have inserted in their respective histories the tale so circumstantially narrated

j "Annon recordaris quid ille vates ruralis, Thomas videlicet de Ersildon, nocte præcedenti mortem regis Alexandri," &c.
BOWER. Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 131.

k Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 202.
Henry's Wallace, vol. i. p. 27.

by Bower[l]: but Mair subjoins, with his usual freedom and good sense, "To this Thomas our countrymen have ascribed many predictions; and the common people of Britain yield no slight degree of credit to stories of this kind; which I for the most part am accustomed to treat with ridicule."

Lesley has commemorated Michael Scot and Thomas Lermont as personages of an extraordinary character; and has likewise hinted at the famous prediction of Alexander's death[m].

The period of the union was the crisis of Lermont's fame as an inspired poet: for, as we are informed by honest Robert Birrel, "at this tyme, all the haill comons of Scotland that had red or understanding, wer daylie speiking and exponeing of Thomas Rymer hes prophesie, and of uther prophesies quhilk wer prophesied in auld tymes[n]." It was not among the vulgar alone that such ex-

[l] Major de Gestis Scotorum, p. 157.

Boëthii Scotorum Historia, f. 291. a.

[m] "Hoc tempore Scotia duo plebi peperit miracula, Michaelem Scotum et Thomam Lermountum: quorum ille singulari philosophiæ, astronomiæ, ac medicinæ laude præstans, dicebatur penitissimos magiæ recessus, maximo omnium stupore, indagasse. Hic non ita magnâ eruditione tinctus, tanquam aliquis è tripode Apollo, futura, nescio quo spiritu concitatus, effudisse. Cujus dictis maxima auctoritas fuit conciliata, quòd certam regis morti diem præstituerit. Rerum Scoticarum prædictiones rythmicis versibus illigavit: quæ tamen tantâ allegoriarum, tanquam ænigmatum, obscuritate involvebantur, ut quem quæque prædictio sensum tegeret, nisi re actâ, acutissimus quisque non potuerit elicere."

LESLÆUS de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 220.

[n] Birrel's Diarey, p. 59. apud Dalyell.

positions took place: John Colvil, in an o composed about this period, expresses his nishment at the exact fulfilment of the prop ascribed to Lermont[o].

Spotswood has observed, that "the prop yet extant in Scotish rhymes, may be justl mired; having foretold, so many ages befor union of England and Scotland in the degree of the Bruce's blood, with the succ of Bruce himself to the crown, being yet a and other divers particulars which the event ratified and made good[p]." "It is amazing," Lord Hailes, "that Archbishop Spottiswo man of sense and a scholar, should imagine this prophecy was ancient, or that it did so as bear the name of Thomas the Rhymer. language throughout is scarcely more an than the times of the Archbishop himself[q]." structure of the poem which bears the ti *The Prophecies of Thomas Rhymer* seems hov to savour of an age considerably remote

[o] "Nonne hæc Saturnii seculi argumenta indubitata? quæ memoriam exulceratam revocant, quòd cùm puer essem audivera thrones ceraulas nomine Thomæ Rythmici fatidici numerare q carmina trivialia, quæ tunc ludicra, nunc verò seria atque effica agnosco: verùm si Delphicè an divinitus inspirata sint, definire no cum teste Augustino."

COLVILLI Oratio Funebris Exequiis Elizabethæ Angliæ Reginæ destinata, p. 24. Paris. 16c

[p] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 47.

[q] See Lord Hailes's *Ancient Scottish Poems*, p. 312, Edinb. 1770 and his *Remarks on the History of Scotland*, p. 89. Edinb. 1773, 12m

that of Archbishop Spotswood: and it is at least certain that it was known to Sir David Lindsay at the time when he composed the epistle prefixed to his *Dreme*.

The progress of knowledge and of reason has gradually impaired the absurd veneration with which he was once regarded: but among the more ignorant of the vulgar he is still permitted to retain the name of a prophet. "The Whole Prophecies of Scotland, England, Ireland, France, and Denmark, prophesied by Thomas Rymer, Marvellous Merling, Beid, Berlington, Waldhave, Eltrain, Bannester, and Sybilla," may at present be purchased in the Horse-Wynd for the moderate sum of four-pence. The earliest edition of this collection which is known to exist was published by Andrew Hart in the year 1615. The poems ascribed to Berlington and Waldhave, Bishop Percy supposes to be of higher antiquity than the rest[r]. A monk of the name of Gregory Bridlington is enrolled by Dempster among his Scotish authors[s]. Of Waldhave or Waltheve, a descendant of the Earl of Northumberland, and Abbot of Melrose during the reign of David the

[r] Percy's Essay on the Metre in P. Plowman, p. 288.—The prophecies of Beda, &c. says Mr Pinkerton, "are the best remains of the English poetry of the fifteenth century; and there is an excellent MS. in the Marquis of Lansdowne's library." *(Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 418.*)*

[s] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 101.

First, many anecdotes are detailed in the sixth book of the *Scotichronicon.*

The poems in this collection are principally written in the alliterative blank-verse, of which the author of *Piers Ploughman* has exhibited so excellent a specimen[t]. The prophecies of the Rhymer are composed in a more common measure. This poem is not professedly exhibited as the production of Lermont; who is only introduced in his character of a prophet. The exordium is as follows:

Still on my wayis as I went
  Out through a land beside a lea,
I met a bairn upon the bent,
  Methought him seemly for to see.
I ask'd him wholly his intent;—
  Good Sir, if your will be,
Since that ye bide upon the bent,
  Some uncouth tidings tell you me.
When shall these wars be gone,
  That leil men may live in lee;

[t] *The Vision of Piers Ploughman* is commonly ascribed to Robert Langland, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; but an admirable antiquary informs us that the best MSS. which he has seen "make the Christian name of the author William, without mentioning his surname." (Tyrwhitt's *Essay on Chaucer*, p. 74.) If we may credit Peacham, this poem was written by Lydgate: "After him succeeded Lydgate, a monke of Bury, who wrote that bitter satyre of Piers Plow-men." (Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 95. edit. Lond. 1634, 4to.) This assertion is evidently erroneous: *The Vision* appears from internal evidence to have been written about the year 1350; whereas Lydgate did not flourish till about the year 1430.

Or when shall Falsehude go from home,
And Lawtie blow his horn on hie?

The poet concludes his prolusion by revealing the name and abode of this prophet:

When all these ferlies were away,
Then saw I none but I and he:
Then to the beirn could I say,
Where dwellest thou? in what country?
Or who shall rule the isle Britain
From the north to the south sea?
The French wife shall bear the son
Shall rule all Britain to the sea,
That of the Bruce's blood shall come
As near as the ninth degree.
I frained fast what was his name?
Whence that he came? in what country?—
In Erslingtown I dwell at hame:
Thomas Rymer men call me.

LERMONT's claims to the character of a prophet may be rejected without hesitation; but the extent of his literary pretensions cannot so easily be ascertained.

That he distinguished himself by his poetical compositions, is evident from the accumulated testimonies of early writers, as well as from the honourable appellation by which he is still recognized among his countrymen. Robert of Brunne, who flourished about the year 1303, commemorates him as the author of an incomparable romance entitled *Sir Tristrem:*

I see in song of sedgeyng tale
Of Erceldoun and of Kendale:
'Non' tham says as that tham wroght,
And in ther sayng it semes noght.
That may thou here in Sir Tristrem;
Ouer gestes in has the steem,
Ouer all that is or was,
If men it sayd as made Thomas.
Bot I here it no man to say;
That of som copple som is away:
So thare fayre saying here beforne,
Is thare trauayle nere forlorne.
Thai sayd it for pride and nobleye,
That non were suylk as thei:
And alle that thai wild ouerwhere,
Alle that ilk wille now forfare.
Thai sayd in so quainte Inglis,
That manyone wate not what it is;
Therfore heuyed wele the more,
In strange ryme trauayle sore.
And my witte was oure thynne,
So strange speche to trauayle in;
And forsoth I couth noght
So strange Inglis as thai wroght;
And men besoght me many a tyme
To turne it bot in light ryme[u].

These expressions, as Mr Tyrwhitt first sugges
and as is now universally admitted among a
quaries, evidently refer to Thomas Lermont
Ercildon. It was hinted by Mr Pinkerton, i
work published in the year 1786, that this

[u] Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, vol. i. p. xcix.

cious romance might possibly be preserved in an ancient MS. mentioned by Bishop Percy as in the possession of the Faculty of Advocates. And in that very collection a romance on the subject of Sir Tristrem was at length discovered. The honour of the discovery is, I believe, due to the indefatigable Mr Ritson; a gentleman to whom the lovers of Gothic literature would have been more willing to acknowledge their obligations, if he had borne his faculties somewhat more meekly[v]. An edition of this romance, with proper accompanyments, will soon be presented to the public by Mr Scott; who in the mean time has very politely furnished the writer of these pages with a complete copy of the text.

The MS. was laudably presented to the Advocates Library by Boswell of Auchinleck, a Senator of the College of Justice. It is an ample volume in folio, elegantly written on vellum, and containing a great variety of ancient poems. The date of the transcript has never been ascertained. It is admitted by all those who have inspected it to be of considerable antiquity: but with respect to its real age, I will not even hazard a conjecture.

Some unhallowed hand, before the volume became the property of this learned body, had mu-

[v] Tam censorius haud fuit vel ille
Quem risisse semel ferunt in ævo.
SIDONIUS.

tilated many of its pages by cutting away the illuminations. *Sir Tristrem*, among other rare productions, has felt the pernicious effects of this practice: a few stanzas at the conclusion are irrevocably lost; and in other places it has also sustained material injury. The deficiency at the close has been happily supplied by Mr Scott: but even this is no adequate consolation. An important word in the first line is likewise effaced. The editor has ventured to insert *Erceldoune*; and it may be regarded as almost certain that this is the genuine reading.

The very opening of the work suggests doubts and difficulties:

I was at [Erceldoune];
With Tomas spak Y thare;
Ther herd Y rede in roune,
Who Tristrem gat and bare,
Who was king with croun,
And who him forsterd yare,
And who was bold baroun,
As thair elders ware,
Bi yere.
Tomas telles in toun
This auentours as thai ware.

If Lermont be the real author, why should he introduce himself in this extraordinary manner? Why should he adopt a style so remote from that of a writer who might have been supposed to retain his undisguised character? This, it will be

urged, is evidently the language of some poet who has copied from Lermont's romance on the same subject. Such objections as these must certainly be regarded as not altogether nugatory; though, on the other hand, they are not sufficient to establish the charge of spuriousness. Perhaps it is not absolutely absurd to suppose that Lermont was really the author; and that when he consigned his romance to such minstrels as might solicit the favour, he deemed it expedient to resort to this plan for the purpose of establishing his own claim. He was a poet elevated above the common lot of his brethren; and his castle, we may conjecture, was frequented by minstrels of every denomination. Although he excelled in poetical composition, it is not probable that he visited the residences of others in the capacity of a rhapsodist: and as it is equally improbable that he was a stranger to the laudable ambition of rendering himself famous among his countrymen, he would obviously avail himself of the assistance of the professional reciter. But to prevent the auditory from transferring to the reciter the honour due to the poet, he might devise or adopt the expedient of exhibiting himself in the station which we now find him occupying. In the progress of the narrative the reciter repeatedly alludes to Lermont as his instructor. On one occasion he professes to continue the story, "As Tómas hath ous taught."

The language of the romance, if written by Lermont, ought to be Scotish. But Lermont flourished at a period to which our knowledge of the Scotish language cannot be said to extend. With respect to this subject our decisions ought therefore to be extremely cautious.

When we open *Sir Tristrem*, many words which at first may be suspected of belonging exclusively to the ancient language of Scotland, will on farther enquiry be also found to belong to that of England. In the whole poem there are not more than six words which I suspect to be absolutely Scotish. *Gif*, instead of if, occurs in many instances. This conjunction certainly cannot be pointed out in any English writer. The same may perhaps be predicated of *bidene*, anon, and of *woukes*, weeks. *On raw*, and *hole and fere*, are phrases which appear to be exclusively Scotish. The verb *an*, owes, probably never belonged to the English language. I know not whether I may also venture to specify such combinations of the verb and pronoun as occur in the following verses:

Tho was Tristrem in ten,
And chidde with the king:
" *Gifstow* glewemen thy quen ?
*Hastow* no nother thing ?"

This peculiarity is not unknown to the ancient

Scotish poets. It occurs, for example, in the works of James the First:

From day to day so sore here *artow* drest.

The frequent substitution of *a* for *o* cannot be selected as a criterion of its Scotish origin: the same peculiarity may likewise be traced in the northern dialects of England. It was in the north of England and the south of Scotland that the order of minstrels chiefly flourished. Such idioms need not therefore surprize us in the perusal of any metrical romance of an early date.

If it can be evinced that *Sir Tristrem* is not conformable to the standard of the ancient Scotish language, an adequate reason may be assigned for its deviation. The Auchinleck MS. seems to have been transcribed by a native of England; who, according to the practice which formerly prevailed, might deliberately substitute vernacular idioms in the place of such as appeared foreign. And if a few have escaped his innovation, this need be regarded as no extraordinary contingency. The mode of adaptation to which I here allude, was undoubtedly prevalent among English transcribers: and it may indeed be traced to a very early period in the history of literature. Such a process, for example, must have taken place in some particular transcripts of Ocellus Lucanus *De Universi Naturâ*. This very ancient

philosopher was a Dorian by birth; and that he wrote in the dialect of his native country, is sufficiently evident from the extracts to be found in Stobæus. Yet his entire work has descended to us in an Attic dress.

Such are the least immaterial of the observations which have occurred to me on a sober examination of this curious relique of British poetry. That it is the genuine production of Lermont, I will by no means presume to decide: but the supposition, as it presents itself to my mind, does not seem to involve much of improbability.

The poetical merit of *Sir Tristrem* will not appear supereminent to a mere reader of modern productions: but to those who have acquired a hearty relish for our ancient literature, it must undoubtedly present many charms. If it be the genuine composition of Lermont, we have at least Robert of Brunne's testimony in its favour. In the opinion of that English chronicler, it surpasses all the *gestes* which had then been produced by the British poets. Its superior merit seems also to have been acknowledged by the French minstrels.

The narrative is conducted in a manner extremely simple, but is not altogether incapable of exciting interest. Some of the incidents, though unconnected with supernatural agency, are sufficiently destitute of probability: Sir Tristrem performs stupendous feats of valour and of

ength; he slays a dragon and many a giant th all the dexterity peculiar to the heroes of nance. The principal adventures of Tristrem d the fair Isoude originate in the operations of philter, accidentally administered by a damsel ttentive to the injunctions which she had re-ived from the mother of this heroine. The po-it drug produces a fatal affection, which they not hesitate to indulge in all its stages.

For melodious versification and beautiful com-nations of words, it would be in vain to search y production of this kind. *Sir Tristrem* how-er contains various instances of picturesque des-ption. The hero's combat with Urgan, a for-dable giant, is described in the following nzas:

In Wales tho was a king,
That hight Triamour;
He hadde a douhter yinge,
Was hoten Blaunche Floure;
Urgan with gret wering,
Biseged him in his tour,
With fight;
Tristrem with gret honour,
Bicom the kinges knight.

Urgan gan Wales held,
With wrong, for sothe to say;
Oft and unselde,
Of Triamour tok he pray;
Triamour to Tristrem teld,
Opon a somers day,

Wales he wald him yeld,
Gif he it winne may,
Right than;
Tristrem withouten nay,
With were, Wales wan.

Tristrem mette Urgan,
In that feld to fight;
To him seyd he than,
As a douhte knight,
" Thou slough mi brother Morgan,
At the mete ful right;
As Y am douhti man,
His deth thou bist to night,
Mi fo;"—
Tristrem seyd aplight,
To kepe Y the to slo.

Tuelve fete was the wand,
That Urgan wald with play;
His strok may no man stand,
Ferly gif Tristrem may;
Tristrem vantage fand,
His clobbe fel oway;
And of the geauntes hand,
Tristrem smot, that day,
In lede:
Tristrem, for sothe to say,
The geaunt gert he blede.

Urgan al in tene,
Faught with his left hand;
Ogain Tristrem kene,
A stern strok he fand,

Opon his helme so schene,
That to the ground he wand,
Bot up he stirt bedene,
And heried[a] godes sand,
Al night;
Tristrem with his brand,
Fast gan to fight.

The geaunt aroume he stode,
His hond he tint Y was;
He fleighe as he were wode,
Ther that the castel is;
Tristrem trad in the blode,
And fond the hond that was his;
Oway Sir Tristrem yode;
The geaunt com with this,
And sought,
To hele his honde that was his,
Salves hadde he brought.

Urgan the geaunt unride
After Sir Tristrem wan;
The cuntre fer and wide,
Y-gadred was bi than;
Tristrem thought that tide,
" Y take that me gode an;"
On a brigge he gan abide;
Biheld ther mani a man;
Thai mette:
Urgan to Tristrem ran,
And grimli there thai gret.

[a] " Probably an error of the pen, for *he cried.*"

Strokes of michel might,
  Thai delten hem bituene:
That thurch hir briines bright,
  Her bother blode was sene;
Tristrem faught as a knight,
  And Urgan al in tene,
Gaf him a strok unlight:
  His scheld he clef bituene,
    Atuo;
  Tristrem withouten wene,
Nas never are so wo.

Eft Urgan smot with main,
  And of that strok he miste;
Tristrem smot ogayn,
  And thurch his body he threste;
Urgan lepe unfain,
  Ouer the bregge he deste:
Tristrem hath Urgan slain,
  That al the cuntre wist,
    With wille;
  The king tho Tristrem kist,
And Wales tho yeld him tille.

As a further specimen of the structure and language of *Sir Tristrem*, I shall present my readers with the description of a rencounter between Tristrem and Morgan.

Tristrem dede as he hight,
  He busked and made him yare;
His fiftend som of knight,
  With him gede na mare;

To court thai com full right,
As Morgan his brede schare,
Thai teld tho bi sight,
Ten kinges sones thai ware,
Unsought;
Heuedes of wild bare,
Ichon to presant brought.

Rohand bigan to sayn,
To his knightes than seyd he;
" As woman is thus for lain,
Y may say bi me;
Gif Tristrem be now sleyn,
Yuel yemers er we;
To armes knight and swayn,
And swiftly ride ye,
And swithe;
Til Y Tristrem se,
No worth Y never blithe."

Tristrem speke bigan,
" Sir King, god loke the,
As Y the love and an,
And thou hast served me."
The Douke answerd than;
" Y pray mi lord so fre,
Whether thou bless or ban,
Thine owhen mot it be,
Thou bold:
Thi nedes telle thou me,
Thine erand what thou wold."

" Amendes! mi fader is slain,
Mine hirritage Ermonie;"
The Douk answerd again,
" Certes thi fader than slough Y;
Seththen thou so hast sayd,
Amendes ther ought to ly;
Therefore prout swayn,
So schal Y the for thi,
Right than;
Artow comen titly
Fram Mark thi kinsman.

" Yongling, thou schalt abide,
Foles thou wendest to fand;
Thi fader thi moder gan hide,
In horedom he hir band;
How comestow with pride?
Out traitour of mi land!"
Tristrem spac that tide,
" Thou leyst ich understand,
And wot;"
Morgan with his hand,
With a lof Tristrem smot.

On his brest adoun,
Of his nose ran the blod;
Tristrem swerd was boun,
And ner the Douke he stode;
With that, was comen to toun,
Rohand, with help ful gode,
And gayn;
Al that ogain him stode,
Wightly were thai slayn.

To prisoun thai gun take,
  Erl, baroun, and knight,
For Douke Morgan sake,
  Mani on dyd doun right;
Schaftes thai gun schake,
  And riven scheldes bright,
Crounes thai gun crake,
  Mani, ich wene, aplight,
    Saunfayl:
  Bituene the none, and the night,
Last the batayle.

The romance of *Sir Tristrem*, as the last specimen may evince, contains curious pictures of ancient manners; and, on this account alone, is no contemptible acquisition to the general treasury of our literature.

THE

# LIFE

OF

# *JOHN BARBOUR.*

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THE memoirs of Barbour, the cotemporary and in some respects the rival of Chaucer, may be comprised within very narrow limits. The few anecdotes which at this distance of time can be gleaned, are accurately detailed by Lord Hailes and Mr Pinkerton: and almost the only task that now remains, is to exhibit a careful arrangement of the materials which have been supplied by those learned writers.

John Barbour, it is conjectured, was born about the year 1316. When he describes the person of Randolph, says Lord Hailes, he seems to speak from personal observation: and as Randolph died in 1331 and Barbour in 1396, the poet, if we suppose him to have lived till the age of

eighty, would be in his fifteenth year at the death of that illustrious warrior[a]. This however is but a vague calculation; and several years might, without any breach of probability, be either added or deducted. Nor does he profess to describe the person of Randolph from actual observation[b]. Many of his other descriptions are equally minute, though they relate to objects which were certainly removed beyond his own inspection.

In 1328 an order for the payment of a certain sum of money to a John Barbour or Barber, appears to have been issued by Robert the First to Sir Alexander Seaton, Governor of Berwick[c]. This perhaps was the father of the poet.

Barbour was educated for the clerical profession: and in 1357 we find him styled Archdeacon of Aberdeen. During the same year the bishop of his diocese nominated him one of the commissioners who were to meet at Edinburgh, in order to deliberate concerning the ransom of their captive monarch, David the Second[d]. Of this date there is extant a passport from Edward the Third, which authorizes him to conduct three students to the University of Oxford[e]. It has

[a] Hailes, Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 3. 8vo.

[b] Barbour's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 70.

[c] Nisbet's System of Heraldry, vol. i. p. 107.

[d] Rymer, Fœdera, tom. vi. p. 39.

[e] "Sciatis quod (ad supplicationem David de Bruys) suscepimus Joannem Barber, Archidiaconum de Aberdene, veniendo cum tribus sco-

been supposed that he himself studied in this seminary during the years 1357 and 1365[f]; but for this supposition there is no just foundation. What dignitary of the church ever thought of returning to his scholastic exercises, or of subjecting himself a second time to academical discipline? That he completed his studies in this celebrated university, is however by no means improbable; though it must have been at an earlier period of his life.

It would appear that in 1365 he visited St Denis near Paris in company with six knights. The object of their expedition seems to have been of a religious kind: for the King of England grants them permission to pass through his dominions on their way towards St Denis and other sacred places[g].

About ten years afterwards he was engaged in composing the celebrated work which has perpetuated his fame[h]. As a reward of his poetical merit, he is said to have received a pension[i]; but

laribus in comitiva sua, in regnum nostrum Angliæ, causâ studendi in Universitate Oxoniæ, et ibidem actus scolasticos exercendo, morando, et exinde in Scotiam ad propria redeundo, in protectionem et defensionem nostram, necnon in salvum et securum conductum nostrum.---Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, decimo tertio die Augusti."

RYMER, Fœdera, tom. vi. p. 31.

f Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 318.

g Rymer, Fœdera, tom. vi. p. 478.

h Barbour's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 171.

i "The book," says Hume, "was penned by a man of good knowledge, and learning, named Mr John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdene-

the evidence with respect to this circumstance, it must be confest, is somewhat suspicious. Hume of Godscroft affirms, that Barbour received from the exchequer a pension during his lifetime, that he transferred this pension to the hospital of Aberdeen, and that it continued to be paid in the seventeenth century. The principal circumstance, though thus recorded in careless terms, may however be authentic.

From some passages in Winton's chronicle it would appear, that Barbour also composed a genealogical history of the Kings of Scotland. Of this work no manuscript is known to be extant. His materials, we may presume, were supplied by national tradition, or by such authentic writers as Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Barbour, as has already been hinted, died in 1396[1]. As he was qualified for holding the office of archdeacon so early as the year 1357, he must have reached an advanced stage of life.

for which work he had a yearely pension out of the exchequer during his life, which he gave to the hospitall of that towne, to which it is allowed and paid, still in our dayes." (*Hist. of the House of Douglas*, p. 30.) Dr Mackenzie, with his usual accuracy, has first asserted that it was David the Second, and afterwards that it was Robert the Second who conferred this pension on Barbour. (*Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. i. p. 264. 297.) Dr Nicolson, without producing any authority, affirms that he received it from K. David. (*Scottish Historical Library*, p. 145.) This instance of royal bounty is also mentioned by Tanner (*Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 73.: but the original source of information is evidently the above passage of Hume.

1 Chart. Aberdon. fol. 115. MS. quoted by Lord Hailes.

At no period has his reputation suffered any considerable diminution. The earliest edition of *The Bruce* which has hitherto been traced, was published at Edinburgh in 1616 in a duodecimo form: but as Patrick Gordon, whose heroic poem was licenced in 1613, terms it "the old printed book," there is reason to conclude, that its first impression is of a more ancient date. The next edition that has been discovered, says Mr Pinkerton, "is that of Edinburgh, 1648, 8*vo. black letter*, which I find in the catalogue of the library of Archibald Duke of Argyle, printed by the Foulises; and which, it is likely, is now in the Earl of Bute's collection. The next edition is that of Glasgow, by Robert Sanders, 1665, 8*vo. b. l.* After this a very neat edition was published by Andrew Anderson at Edinburgh, 1670, 12*mo. b. l.* And there are many later editions of no value, published by different booksellers, to answer the demand of the common people for this book; which, to the credit of their good sense, is very great[k]." At length, in 1790, a valuable edition in three volumes octavo was published by Mr Pinkerton from an ancient MS. belonging to the Advocates Library.

After the death of Lermont our national poetry seems to have languished in a state of feeble immaturity: and nearly a century elapsed

[k] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. lxxxiii.

before Barbour arose to improve the language and literature of his native country. In the intermediate space, only a few inconsiderable fragments can be gleaned.

In the year 1296, when King Edward laid siege to Berwick, the defenders are said to have derided him by the following stanza:

Wend Kyng Edewarde, with his lange shankes,
To have gete Berwyke, al our unthankes?
Gas pikes hym,
And after gas dikes hym[l].

After the glorious battle of Bannockburn, fought in 1314, triumphal verses were composed by some Scotish poet.

Maydons of Englande, sore may ye morne
For your lemmans ye have loste at Bannockysborne,
With heue a lowe.
What! weneth the Kynge of England
So soone to have wonne Scotlande?
With rumbylow[m].

This song, says Fabyan, was long afterwards sung by the maidens and minstrels of Scotland.

During the reign of David the Second, the Scotish ridiculed the dress of their English neighbours, in some unpolished rhymes which are also quoted by Fabyan:

[l] See Ritson's Hist. Essay on Scotish Song, p. xxv.
[m] Fabyan's Cronyckle, vol. ii. f. lxxvi. a.

Long beerdis hartles,
Paynted hoodes wytles,
Gay cottes graceles,
Maketh Englande thryftless.

In a state of progressive improvement, the son necessarily oversteps the narrow circle which bounded his father's intellectual horizon: but if literature is destined to advance with rapidity, it must receive an unwonted impulse from some individual, whose genius elevates him far above the age which he enlightens and adorns. Of this splendid character were Chaucer and Barbour; poets who flourished during the same æra, and who effected the same important changes in the languages which they respectively cultivated.

If, when we attempt to appreciate the merits of Barbour, we transport ourselves to the remote age in which he lived, his production will be found entitled to a large share of our approbation. Fortunate in the choice of his subject, he has unfolded a series of remarkable events, and has diffused over his narration that lively interest which an ordinary writer is incapable of exciting. He stands conspicuous amidst the ruins of time, and, like an undecayed Gothic tower, presents an aspect of dignified simplicity. That air of sincerity which he always exhibits, that solicitude which he seems to feel with respect to the fortunes of his favourite characters, as well as the splendid

attributes of the characters themselves, cannot fail of arresting the attention of the most languid.

The reign of the great King Robert was the age of Scotish chivalry; and the monarch himself presented the most perfect model of a true knight. Whatever inconsistencies may have appeared in his early conduct, the greater part of his life was undoubtedly spent in the exercise of heroic valour or of political wisdom. Such a hero and such an age were a most fortunate selection: and although the poet is possest of no ordinary skill, yet much of his attractiveness may perhaps be referred to the nature of his choice. This circumstance however detracts not from his merit; for the proper selection of a subject implies an important exertion of the faculty of judgment.

*The Bruce* furnishes sufficient evidence, that Barbour was a man of superior learning. The humanity of his sentiments and the liberality of his views seem of a far more modern date than the fourteenth century; they are exotic plants reared in the hot-house of manly erudition. The spurious productions of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis are almost the only books to which he formally refers; but his acquaintance with ancient history and ancient fable was relatively extensive. The favourite classic of the times was Statius; and he also appears to have been the favourite of Barbour. The chaste compositions of Virgil and Horace were less gratifying to the

reigning taste than the strained thoughts and gorgeous diction of Statius and Claudian[n].

Barbour has entered into a digression concerning astrology and necromancy which tends to place him in a very favourable point of view. These branches of divination, it is well known, were assiduously cultivated during that period. The absurdity of astrology and necromancy he does not openly attempt to expose; for this would have been too bold and decisive a step. The opinions of the many, however unfounded in reason, must not be rashly stigmatized. Of the possibility of predicting future events he speaks with the caution of a philosopher, and with that deference for established opinions which a wise man will always be ready to profess. The following passage however evinces, that his own opinion was not unformed:

> And sen thai ar in sic wenyng,
> Forowtyne certanté off wytting,
> Methink quha sayis he knawis things
> To cum, he makys gret gabbings.

To form such an estimate, required a mind ca-

[n] A writer who flourished so lately as the seventeenth century speaks of Statius in the following terms: "Statius is a smooth and sweet poet, comming neerest of any other to the state and majesty of Virgil's verse, and Virgill onely excepted, is the prince of poets aswell Greekes as Latine: for he is more flowery in figures, and writteth better lines than Homer."

PEACHAM's Compleat Gentleman, p. 90.

pable of disencumbering itself of those inveterate prejudices which concurring circumstances had tended to foster in the breast of millions. In an age of much higher refinement Dryden suffered himself to be deluded by the prognostications of judicial astrology*.

From his wonted liberality, it must be owned, he has been betrayed into a few deviations. His terrible imprecation on the miscreant who betrayed Sir Christopher Seaton, "In hell condampnyt mot he be!" ought not to have been uttered by a member of the Christian church. The misfortunes which attended Bruce at almost every step of his early progress, he attributes to his sacrilegious act of slaying Cumin at the high altar. He supposes that the women and children who assisted in supplying the garrison of Berwick with arrows and stones, were protected from injury by a miraculous interposition. But these sentiments were the necessary result of his intimate connection with the church of Rome; a church which has always dispensed its anathemas with a liberal hand, and which, even to this day, appeals to the notoriety of its miracles as a demonstration of its catholicism.

His encomium on political freedom is distinguished by a manly and dignified strain of sentiment:

* Johnson's Lives of English Poets, vol. ii. p. 109.

A ! fredome is a nobill thing !
Fredome mayse man to haiff liking ;
Fredome all solace to man giffis :
He levys at ese, that frely levys !
A noble hart may haiff nane ese,
Na ellys nocht that may him plese,
Giff fredome failyhe : for fre liking
Is yharnyt our all othir thing.
Na he that ay hase levyt fre
May nocht knaw weill the propyrté,
The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
That is cowplyt to foul thyrldome :
Bot gyff he had assayit it,
Than all perquer he suld it wyt ;
And suld think fredome mar to pryse
Than all the gold in warld that is.

From the pleasure with which he seems to contemplate incidents of a humane description, we may safely conclude that his disposition was affectionate and amiable. The following passage cannot, I trust, be redd with indifference :

The king has hard a woman cry ;
He askyt quhat that wes in hy.
" It is the layndar, Schyr," said ane,
" That her chyld-ill rycht now hes tane :
And mon leve now behind us her.
Tharfor sche makys yone iwill cher."
The king said, " Certs, it war pité
That sche in that poynt left suld be ;
For certs I trow thar is na man
That he ne will rew a woman than."

Hys ost all thar arestyt he,
And gert a tent sone stintit be,
And gert hyr gang in hastely;
And othyr wemen to be hyr by,
Quhill sche was deleueryt, he bad;
And syne furth on hys wayis he raid:
And how sche furth suld caryit be,
Or euir he furth fur, ordanyt he.
This wes a full gret curtasy,
That swilk a king, and sa mychty,
Gert hys men duell on this maner,
Bot for a pour lauender.

The annals of heroes present us with few incidents of so pleasing a kind; whether it be, that heroes seldom stoop to actions of mere benevolence, or that their historians deem it unbecoming to transmit them to posterity.

Barbour seems to have been acquainted with those finer springs of the human heart which elude vulgar observation: he catches the shades of character with a delicate eye, and sometimes presents us with instances of nice discrimination. His work is not a mere narrative of events; it contains specimens of that minute and skilful delineation which marks the hand of a poet. When, for example, Bruce has with his single arm defended a narrow pass against a company of two hundred Gallovidians, his soldiers are represented as flocking around him with the same eager curiosity as if they had never enjoyed a previous

opportunity of contemplating the hero's person:

Sic words spak thai off the king;
And for hys hey undertaking
Ferlyit, and yarnyt hym for to se,
That with hym ay wes wont to be.

In the opinion of an exquisite critic, he has adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical images, far superior to the age [p]. The most impartial method of estimating his versification will be, to compare it with that of some cotemporary English poet. Let us place Barbour and Chaucer in the field of competition, and their merit in this respect will be found nearly equal. I shall venture to select a passage from each writer: but in the mean time it must be remembered, that a general conclusion cannot be drawn from a particular instance.

The birdis that han left ther songe
While thei han suffrid colde ful stronge
In wethers grille and derke to sight,
Ben in Mey for the sunnè bright
So glad, that they shewe in singing
That in ther hert is suche liking,
That thei mote singin and ben light:
Than dothe the nightingale her might

[p] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 318.

To makin noise and singen blithe;
Than is blissful many a sithe
The chelandre and the popingay;
Than yongè folke entendin aye
For to ben gaie and amorous,
The time is than so savorous.

CHAUCER.

This wis in ver, quhen winter tid,
With hys blasts hydwyss to bide,
Was ourdrywyn, and birdis smale,
As turtule and the nychtyngale,
Begouth rycht sariolly to syng,
And for to mak in thair singyng
Swete notis, and sownys ser,
And melodys plesand to her;
And trees begouth to ma
Burgeans, and brycht blomys alsua,
To wyn the helying off thair hewid,
That wykkyt wyntir had thaim rewid.

BARBOUR.

To affirm that the general merit of the two poets is similar, would evince no slight degree of national prejudice. Chaucer has attempted a great variety of subjects, and for the most part with eminent success. His measures are also varied: and if we compare his versification with that of former poets, or indeed with that of his immediate successors, it will be found entitled to the highest praise. His genius was universal. He reformed the taste and improved the language of his native country. Barbour's merit is more

circumscribed : but it cannot reasonably be expected that he should have performed what he never attempted. His poetical reputation rests on the detached basis of a single performance. The execution of this work however has rendered his name illustrious in the annals of Scotish literature. Perhaps Mr Pinkerton " may be accused of nationality, when he says that, taking the total merits of this work together, he prefers it to the early exertions of even the Italian muse, to the melancholy sublimity of Dante, and the amorous quaintness of Petrarca, as much as M. Le Grand does a *fabliau* to a Provençal ditty. Here indeed the reader will find few of the graces of fine poetry, little of the Attic dress of the muse : but here are life and spirit, and ease, and plain sense, and pictures of real manners, and perpetual incident, and entertainment. The language is remarkably good for the time, and far superior, in neatness and elegance, even to that of Gawin Douglas, who wrote more than a century after. But when we consider that our author is not only the first poet, but the earliest historian of Scotland, who has entered into any detail, and from whom any view of the real state and manners of the country can be had ; and that the hero, whose life he paints so minutely, was a monarch equal to the greatest of modern times ; let the historical and poetical merits of his work be weighed together, and then opposed

to those of any other early poet of the present nations in Europe [q]."

Lord Hailes, in his *Annals of Scotland*, has frequently acknowledged the general fidelity of Barbour's narrative. The few inaccuracies which occur may easily be accounted for, and easily pardoned.

The exploits of Bruce have been celebrated by several other Scotish poets. Towards the close of the reign of David the Second, a metrical work on this favourite subject was composed by Peter Fenton, a monk of the Abbey of Melrose [r]. Of this ancient poem no manuscript can be traced.

Gordon's *Famovs Historie of the Valiant Bruce* is an English poem of considerable length, divided into seventeen *capita*, and written in the octave stanza, a measure which the practice of Lord Stirling had probably induced the author to

[q] Pinkerton's Barbour, vol. i. p. x.

[r] Of Fenton's work Gordon has in his preface presented us with the following account: "My loveing freind Donald Farchersone (a worthie gentilman whous name I am not asham'd to expres, for that he was a restless suter to me to taik this work in hand) broght me a book of virgine parchment which he hade found amongst the rest of his books: it was an old tome almost inlegeable in manie places; vanting leaves, yet hade it the beginning, and hade bein sett doune by a monk in the Abey of Melros called Peter Fenton in the year of God one thousand thrie hundreth sixtie nyne, which was a year before the death of King Dauid Bruce: it was in old ryme like to Chaucer, but vanting in manie parts; and in special, from the field of Bannochburne fourth it wanted all the rest almost; so that it could not be gotten to the pres; yet such as I could reid thereof hade manie remarkable taillis worthie to be noted,"

employ. The work is copiously replenished with Scoticisms, and with expressions which violate every rule of grammar. It neither possesses the dignity of an epic poem, nor the authenticity of a historical narration. Propriety is totally disregarded: Christ and Jupiter are with matchless indecorum grouped together. This poem, however, with all its faults, contains striking passages [s].

[s] The only slight memorial of Gordon with which I am acquainted occurs in Dempster, a writer of more than dubious authority. "Patricius Gordonus, 'regiis' agens in rebus apud Polonos, scripsit Lachrymas in Funere Henrici, lib. i. Vivit adhuc, ut existimo." (*Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor.* p. 320.) Mr Pinkerton supposes Gordon to have been a man of property: but if this conclusion be drawn from his assuming the denomination of *Gentleman*, it seems a little too precipitant; for, as Edward Waterhouse observes, "all men learnedly bred, and members of universities and houses of law, are by consent of Christendome, as well as our own nation, accounted gentlemen, and warranted to write themselves so, be their extract how meane and ignote soever." (*An Humble Apologie for Learning and Learned Men*, p. 25. Lond. 1653, 8vo.) He is the author of the following poetical works: "Neptunus Britannicus Corydonis. De Luctuoso Henrici Principis Obitu, et Felicibus Caroli Auspiciis: queis immixtus Frederici et Elizabethæ Hymenæus." Lond. 1613, 4to. "The Famous Historie of Penardo and Laissa, otherwise called the Warre of Love and Ambition, doone in heroik verse." Dort, 1615, 12mo. "The Famovs Historie of the Renouned and Valiant Prince Robert surnamed the Brvse, King of Scotlande, and of sundrie other valiant knights, both Scots and English. Enlarged with an addition of the Scottishe Kinges lineallie discended from him to Charles now Prince; together with a note of the beginninges of the most parte of the antient and famous Nobilitie of Scotland. A Historye both pleasant and profitable, set forthe and done in heroik verse by Patrick Gordon, Gentleman." Dort, 1615, 4to. Edinb. 1718, 12mo. Glasg. 1753, 12mo. These English poems are both incomplete; a first book of each having only been published.

In Harvey's *Life of Robert Bruce King of Scots* the reader will find more poetry than its prosaic title would lead him to expect[t]. The structure perhaps is not reared with exquisite skill; but several of its detached parts are fair and seemly. His descriptions, though sometimes grotesque, are often animated and poetical. Whether his work may justly claim the title of an epic poem, it would be superfluous to enquire. And indeed it the discrepant productions of Homer, Lucan, and Spenser, receive the same general denomination. I know not what definite meaning the word epic is employed to convey.

Harvey and Gordon are greatly indebted to Barbour, as he perhaps might be to Fenton; but neither of them has in proper terms acknowledged the obligation: they have coldly referred to his work, without mentioning the name of its author. Harvey's description of the battle of Falkirk is partly borrowed from Henry the Minstrel.

Of his poetical talents the reader will not perhaps be displeased with a slight specimen. The

[t] John Harvey, A. M. appears to have been educated in the University of Aberdeen. (Harvey's *Bruce*, p. 84.) His heroic poem was published at Edinburgh in 1729 in quarto. His other work is a *Collection of Miscellany Poems and Letters*. Edinb. 1726, 12mo. At the time of his death he is said to have been a schoolmaster in this city.—In 1769 his *Life of King Robert Bruce* was new-modelled, and published at Edinburgh under the more classical title of *The Bruciad*. Harvey's name is studiously concealed; and the whole of this transforming process seems injudicious and reprehensible.

llowing is an animated apostrophe to Edward
ıe First:

Fond man! how inscious of thy mortal date!
How blind to that last swift approach of Fate!
In vain thou seest thy steely legions glare,
And triumph'st in the pomp of impious war;
In thy fond heart proud conquest vainly reigns,
And lust of lawless pow'r thy bosom stains;
In vain oppressive sway thy breast inspires:
Behold the period of thy vast desires!
Sudden thou feel'st thy latest minutes roll,
And in a paultry hut expir'st thy soul.
Pride and ambition hand thee down to fame,
And tyranny sits black upon thy name.
Not so, when once 'gainst unbelieving foes,
Flam'd thy dread fauchion in the sacred cause!
When Antioch saw thee thunder on her shore,
And Syrian streams run red with Pagan gore!
'Twas then bright trophies to thy name arose,
And bays unfading grac'd thy awful brows:
Now lawless might and fraud the scene o'ercast,
Wither thy laurels, and thy triumphs blast.

'he subsequent description is perhaps entitled to
ɔme degree of praise:

'Twas night: but where, above yon azure skies,
Empyreal domes on flaming columns rise;
High-arch'd with gold, with blazing em'raulds bright,
Far thro' the void diffuse a purple light;
There shining regions feel no fading ray,
Lost in the splendors of eternal day.

Enthron'd amidst the strong effulgence, sat
The Power Supreme: surrounding spirits wait.
He calls the guardian of the Scottish sway,
And Ariel hastens thro' the choirs of day.
Then from the throne th' Immortal silence broke;
Trembled the solid heav'ns as he spoke.

An opinion that epic poetry cannot be supported without the aid of machinery, seems almost universally to have prevailed. The shadowy beings which Harvey employs, do not produce any remarkable effect: Discord intermeddles in the affairs of King Robert with the same impertinence as in those of Voltaire's hero Henry the Great. When the scene of epic action is laid in a Pagan country, a Christian poet may judiciously avail himself of Pagan mythology: but in every other case the introduction of such decayed machinery must certainly be regarded as a hazardous attempt.

THE

# LIFE

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# *ANDREW WINTON.*

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FOR the few anecdotes of this venerable chronicler that have already been collected, we are indebted to the valuable work which has transmitted his name to posterity. What he himself has left deficient, cannot now be supplied by the extended researches of his biographer.

With regard to the parentage and education of Andrew Winton, we must be content to remain ignorant. He was most probably born during the reign of David the Second; which commenced in 1329 and terminated in 1370.

He was a Canon Regular of St Andrews, and Prior of the Monastery of St Serf, situated in the inch or island of Lochleven in the county of Kinross:

And for I wyll nane bere the blame
Of my defawte, this is my name
Be baptysyne, Androwe of Wyntøwne,
Of Sanct Androwys a chanowne
Regulare, bot nocht-for-thi
Of thaim all the lest worthy:
Bot of thare grace and thaire fawoure
I wes, but meryt, made priowre
Of the ynche wyth-in Loch Lewyne,
Hawand tharof my tytil ewyne
Of Sanct Androwys dyocesy
Be-twene the Lomownde and Benarty.

In the Chartulary of the Priory of St Andrews there are several public instruments of Andrew Winton as Prior of Lochleven, dated between the years 1395 and 1413[a]. He was therefore cotemporary with Barbour; to whose merits he has on various occasions paid a due tribute of applause.

His *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* was undertaken at the request of Sir John Wemyss, the ancestor of the present noble family of that name:

This tretys sympylly
I made at the instans of a larde,
That hade my serwys in his warde,
Schyr Jhone of the Wemys be right name,
Ane honest knycht and of gude fame.

Winton's life must at least have been prolonged till 1420: for he mentions the death of Ro-

[a] Innes, Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 622.

)uke of Albany, an event which happened course of that year. In the prologue to ıt book of his chronicle, he expresses a pre- ıent of the speedy approach of dissolution:

r, as I stabil myne intent,
ı I fynd impediment,
yth sudane and fers maladis,
ıat me cumbris on mony wis;
ıd elde me masteris wyth hir brevis,
:è day me sare aggrevis.
ho has me mad monitioune
› se for a conclusioune,
ıe quhilk behovis to be of det.
ıhat term or tyme of that be set,
:an wyt it be na way;
›t, weil I wate, on schort delay
ı a court I mon appeir,
ll accusationis thare til here,
ıhare na help thare is bot grace.

e chronicle of Winton was suffered to lie :ted for the space of several centuries: but )5 a splendid edition of that part of it which ; more immediately to Scotish affairs, was hed by Mr David Macpherson. The editor lded a copious glossary, a series of learned aluable annotations, and other useful appen- . The manner in which he has performed duous task, may furnish a model to the : editors of our ancient writers.

this work various MSS. have been preserved.

By that deposited in the royal library in the British Museum, Mr Macpherson has chiefly regulated the text of his author. The Royal MS. he observes, which "is greatly superior to all other known manuscripts of Wyntown, appears to have been transcribed by George Barclay of Achrody, and very soon after the autograph of the corrected copy, as several good judges of manuscripts have pronounced it to be of the beginning of the fifteenth century, and some have placed it even before the year 1400. As we know that it could not possibly be written earlier than in 1420 or 1421, the opinion of these gentlemen may warrant a belief, that it is not later than 1430, and no manuscript in the language of Scotland older than it is known to be extant[b]."

The chronicle of Winton is valuable as a picture of ancient manners, as a repository of historical anecdotes, and as a specimen of the literary attainments of our ancestors. His simple pages present to our view many curious prospects of society. With a perseverance of industry which had numerous difficulties to encounter, he has collected and recorded many circumstances that tend to illustrate the history of his native country. Rude as the composition may seem, his work is not altogether incapable of interesting a reader of the present age of refinement. To those

[b] Macpherson's Winton, vol. i. p. xxx.

who delight to trace the progress of the human mind, his unpolished production will afford a delicious entertainment. Here we discover the rudiments of good sense and of literary elegance: but his good sense is enveloped in the mist of ignorance and superstition; and those talents which in another age might have ranked their possessor with Robertson, Hume, or Ferguson, appear without that splendour which arises from a participation of the accumulated refinement incident to more happy times.

"Perhaps," says Mr Ellis, "the ablest modern versifier who should undertake to enumerate in metre, the years of our Lord in only one century, would feel some respect for the ingenuity with which Wyntown has contrived to vary his rhymes, throughout such a formidable chronological series as he has ventured to encounter. His genius is certainly inferior to that of his predecessor Barber; but at least his versification is easy, his language pure, and his style often animated. As a historian, he is highly valuable[c]." His chronicle, while yet unpublished, afforded some useful hints to Mr Innes in his *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, and to Mr Ruddiman in his excellent edition of the works of Buchanan. By the laudable industry of Mr Macpherson, its utility is at length extended to a wider circle[d].

[c] Ellis, Hist. Sketch of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 247.

[d] Mr Ruddiman, in the preface to his edition of Buchanan, speaks of

Although Winton professes to write an original chronicle of Scotland, yet, like other ancient Gothic chroniclers, he presents his reader with a general history of the world. Towards the beginning of his work he treats of the nature of angels, the creation of the world, the death of Abel, the generations of Cain and Seth, the primæval race of giants, the situation of India, Egypt, Africa, Europe, Britain, Ireland, and diverse other countries, the confusion of tongues, and the origin of poetry and Mahometanism. After commencing in so hopeful a manner, he continues to amass an immense pile of lumber, till, having completed five books in this pantographical spirit, he at last begins to confine himself somewhat more scrupulously to his proper subject. The adoption of such a wild plan is not to be imputed to the individual but to the age: Winton followed the models which at that time were generally approved. The *Scotichronicon* of Fordun, his countryman and cotemporary, is composed of the same heterogeneous materials.

He divides his chronicle into nine books: and his reason for preferring this number is at least as sublime as that assigned by Herodotus:

> In honowre of the ordrys nyne
> Of haly angelys, the quhilk dywyne

Winton in the following terms: "Scriptor neutiquam spernendus, quippe qui res suâ ætate et paulò superiùs gestas multò aliis fusiùs et accuratiùs pertractet."

Scripture lowys, on lyk wys
I wylle departe now this tretis
In nyne bukis.

The following quotation may serve to illustrate his principles of composition:

The tytil of this tretis hale
I wyll be caulde ORYGYNALE;
For that begynnyng sall mak clere
Be playne preces owre matere;
As of angelis and of man
Fyrst to rys the kynde began;
And how, eftyr thare creatioune,
Men grewe in-tyl successiowne,
Wyde sprede in-to thare greys,
Thare statys and thare qualyteis,
Tyl the tyme at Nynws kyng
Ras, and tuk the gowernyng
Of Babylon and Assyry.
Fra hyme syne dystynctly
It is my purpos tyl afferme
This tretis in-tyl certane terme,
Haldand tyme be tym the date
As cronyklerys be-for me wrate,
Reqwyrande the correctioune
Of grettare of perfectyoune.
For few wrytys I redy fande,
That I couth drawe to my warande:
Part of the Bybyl wyth that, that Perys
Comestor ekyde in his yherys,
Orosius, and Frere Martyne[c],
Wytht Ynglis and Scottis storys syne,

[c] Orosius is sufficiently known as a chronicler who flourished about the commencement of the fifth century. Peter Comestor, a French ecclesiastic who flourished in 1170, is the author of a kind of universal history,

And othir incidencys sere,
Acordand lyk tyl oure matere.
To this my wyt is walowide dry,
But floure or froyte; but nocht-for-thi
To furthyre fayrly this purpos
I seek the sawowre of that ros,
That spanysys spredys and evyre spryngis
In plesans of the Kyng of Kyngis.

That scarcity of written memorials of which he here complains, must have been very sensibly felt at many steps of his progress. The materials which presented themselves, he has often converted to his own use without the labour of transformation: in his work he has inserted various fragments of a Latin elegiac chronicle, and about three hundred verses of the biographical poem of Barbour. His introduction of two speeches in plain prose produces no happy effect. He acknowledges that a considerable portion of the chronicle was supplied by some person, whose name he has unfortunately neglected to mention.

With the works of foreign authors, Scotland must at that time have been but poorly furnished. Winton however was acquainted at least with the names of a considerable number of writers

written in Latin, and consisting of sixteen books. I have seen an edition which bears the following title: *Scolastica Historia Magistri Petri Comestoris Sacre Scripture seriem brevem nimis et expositam exponentis.* Argentine, 1485, fol. Martinus Polonus flourished in 1277. His Latin chronicle commences with the birth of Christ, and descends to his own times.

who have employed the Greek and Latin languages. Among other ancient authors, he quotes Aristotle, Galen, Palæphatus, and Josephus, Cicero, Livy, Justin, Solinus, and Valerius Maximus. Some of these are names which we should scarcely have expected to occur in the *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland.* He also mentions Homer, Virgil, Horace and Ovid, and those once-celebrated writers, Statius, Boëthius, Dionysius Cato, Dares Phrygius, Dictys Cretensis, and Guido Colonna. Origen, Augustin, and Jerom, are the only fathers of the church whose names occur in his work.

THE

# LIFE

OF

# *K. JAMES THE FIRST.*

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JAMES STEWART, the second son of King Robert the Third, was born in the year one thousand three hundred and ninety-three. His mother was Annabella, the daughter of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall.

The character of Robert was rather that of a good man, than of a great monarch: his amiable and placid disposition qualified him for discharging the duties of social and domestic life; but he possessed not that energy of mind which only could have prepared him for ruling a fierce and warlike nation. The latter part of his life was exposed to severe calamities. Unable or unwilling to support the load of public cares, he delegated the regal authority to his brother the

Duke of Albany, a man of considerable address, and of inordinate ambition. Albany, it is confidently asserted, formed the resolution of placing the crown upon his own head; and, in pursuance of this flagitious scheme, imbrued his hands in the blood of the king's eldest son, David Duke of Rothsay [a]. His second son, James Earl of Carrick, a youth of about eleven years of age, was placed under the protection of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews. In order to secure him from the danger by which he was threatened, Robert determined to entrust him to the care of his ally the King of France. A vessel was secretly prepared, and the prince embarked at the isle of Bass, with his tutor Henry St Clair, Earl of Orkney, and other suitable attendants. On the twelfth of April, 1405, they were intercepted by an English ship near Flamborough-head: and although peace at that time subsisted between the two nations, they were ungenerously treated as prisoners of war. The majority of our early historians have affirmed, that when this intelligence was conveyed to Scotland the aged king was so overwhelmed with sorrow, as within the space of a few days to sink into the grave.

[a] According to Mr Pinkerton, the character of this unfortunate young prince has been grossly misrepresented: "Endued with a comely person, an honest heart, an able head, a most sweet and affable temper, and even deeply tinctured with learning for that century, his virtues, and not his vices, attracted the regent's enmity." (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 61.)

Grief however is a disease which rarely proves mortal: and notwithstanding the confidence of the assertion, we may still be permitted to doubt. It is indeed sufficiently evident that Robert survived this event for the space of twelve months [b]. Why his son's detention should have affected him so deeply, no adequate reason can perhaps be discovered: of the humane treatment which captive princes had often experienced from the English, he certainly could not be ignorant.

The injustice of the prince's seizure was amply compensated by the generous attention bestowed on his education. The frustration of human plans is often productive of ultimate advantages. During his long captivity, James enjoyed a favourable opportunity of acquiring useful and ornamental knowledge; and some sparks of his elegant taste were afterwards communicated to his subjects. The superintendence of his education was committed to Sir John Pelham: and instructors in every branch of polite knowledge succeeded in due order. In such departments of learning as were then cultivated, his progress was rapid. A proper degree of attention was also paid to more superficial accomplishments.

In the mean time however he appears to have been somewhat closely confined. His first place

[b] See Ruddiman's *Annotationes in Buchanani Historiam*, p. 436. and Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 84.

of residence was the tower of London[c]. In 1407 he was removed to the castle of Nottingham[d]: in 1413 we again find him in his former prison[e]; and during the same year he was conducted to the castle of Windsor[f].

Henry the Fifth, who had succeeded his father in 1413, found that his scheme of subjecting France was considerably retarded by the valour of the Scotish auxiliaries. These he hoped to detach from the enemy's standard by inducing the captive prince to serve in his army. James accordingly attended him during the campaign of 1421: but as his countrymen were sufficiently aware, that his conduct on this occasion could not be construed into a proof of his hostility towards the French, they continued to support their ancient allies with unremitted vigour. The accomplished prince, followed by a chosen hand of Scotish knights, fought under the banners of Henry with distinguished bravery. He commanded that division of the English army which laid siege to Dreux; and, by the vigour of his conduct, compelled the town to surrender in the space of six weeks[g].

During his tedious captivity, Scotland was successively governed by Robert Duke of Albany,

[c] Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. iii. p. 532.
[d] Rymer, Fœdera, tom. viii. p. 484.
[e] Ib. tom. ix. p. 2.
[f] Ib. tom. ix. p. 44.
[g] Hall's Chronicle, Hen. V. f. xlv. b.

and his eldest son Murdac. The latter was a nobleman of mean capacity, and altogether unqualified for the task which he had undertaken. Under his feeble administration, the kingdom presented a deplorable picture of anarchy. The scales of justice were held with a partial hand; and power commonly usurped the place of right. Wearied at length with civil commotions, the nation began to deliberate concerning the ransom of the captive prince; whose long detention was perhaps owing in some measure to the political arts of his ambitious kinsmen. His release was now facilitated by the affection which he had begun to discover for Jane, the daughter of John Earl of Somerset, and the grand-daughter of John Duke of Lancaster. An alliance with the blood royal of England, it was supposed, could not fail of attaching him to the political interests of that nation. His ransom being stipulated, under the name of a compensation for his maintenance, and hostages nominated for the security of its payment, James returned to his native country after an absence of about nineteen years. A short while before his departure he espoused the Lady Jane Seymour; the ceremony being performed in the church of St Mary Overy in Southwark. He entered his own territories on the first of April, 1424; and on the twenty-first

of May was crowned at Scone with the usual solemnities[h].

When James began to direct his attention towards the internal state of the kingdom, he was presented with a dismal prospect. During the long term of years which had elapsed since his father's death, the powerful and factious chieftans had found opportunities of extending their encroachments, and of fortifying themselves against the influence of the legal authority. By the avarice or policy of the two regents, the revenues of the crown had been almost totally alienated. The nation had long been unaccustomed to the name and jurisdiction of a king; and many powerful individuals had no reason to wish for their revival. The possessions which they had acquired by rapine, they were prepared to defend with the sword.

Aware of the factious spirit of the nobility, and conscious at the same time of inherent energy, he resolved to apply the necessary remedy with a bold though temperate hand. As the lower orders of the community immediately began to experience the salutary effects of his equitable administration, he readily secured their attachment to his person, and was prepared for enterprizes of more serious moment. His plans were formed with sagacity and executed with consummate ad-

[h] Ruddiman. Annotationes in Buchanani Hist. p. 437.

dress; though the iniquity of the times often tended to frustrate his best intentions.

While the parliament was sitting at Perth in the year 1425, he arrested upwards of twenty men of rank; and, among the rest, the Duke of Albany and his two sons Walter and Alexander. These three, together with Albany's father-in-law the Earl of Lennox, were the only individuals who suffered capital punishment[i]. The extensive domains of the duke were annexed to the royal patrimony. The crimes of these noblemen have not been accurately specified; but it may be supposed that their indictment included many articles.

The political system of James, so hostile to the tyranny of the nobles, was exceedingly gratifying to the common people. Justice was now dispensed with a steady hand, and innumerable abuses were reformed. In order to obtain an accurate knowledge of the manners and opinions of his humbler subjects, he frequently found means to introduce himself, under an assumed character, into their domestic circles. Convinced of the importance of the mechanical arts, he honoured them with a due share of his attention: he even condescended to study the principles of some of their various branches, and upon certain occasions to reduce those principles to practice[j]. "It

i Bower. Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 483. j Ib. vol. ii. p. 505.

was then," says Bower, " that the people sate in the opulence of peace, secure from plunderers, jocund of heart, and tranquil in their mind : for the king wisely banished feuds from the state, restrained depredations, appeased discords, and conciliated enmities."

In a nation where licentiousness prevails, it cannot be expected that the ecclesiastics should escape the general contagion : the clergy and laity are of the same origin, and, although subjected to different regulations, are rarely possest of different degrees of positive virtue. James beheld the deplorable state of the Scotish church, and with pious care applied himself to its reformation. The ecclesiastics were for the most part devoid of literature, and only distinguished by the immorality of their conduct. In order to produce a nobler impulse, he is said to have invited several learned foreigners to his kingdom, and to have presented them to ample benefices.

His own example contributed to advance the respectability of the literary character. The nobility of those martial times were apt to regard the pursuits of the scholar as degrading to a man of purer blood : they imagined that glory was only connected with such enterprizes as depend for their success on the union of strength and courage. But the example of so illustrious a prince must have tended to remove their prejudices.

After having received repeated provocations

from the English, James collected an army in 1436, and hastened to lay siege to Roxburgh: but, for some reason which remains doubtful, he speedily disbanded his troops [k].

The vigorous manner in which he enforced the observance of the laws procured him many enemies among his more powerful subjects. At first however they submitted without exhibiting any symptoms of open discontent: their malice was only gratified by the propagation of reports disadvantageous to the character of their illustrious sovereign [l]. But at length a fatal conspiracy was formed against his life. The chief of the traitors was his uncle Robert Stewart, Earl of Athole; an ambitious nobleman whom our historians represent as pursuing a regular and extended plan for securing the crown to his own descendants. The earl himself was too aged to perform any active part; the perpetration of the murder was reserved for his grandson Sir Robert Stewart, Sir Robert Graham, and other accomplices of inferior rank. James was at this time residing in the Dominican convent near Perth. The conspirators having gained admission, proceeded with savage

k Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 132.

l "Vix ullus Scotorum regum vel aliarum etiam nationum, doctrinâ, pietate, justitiâ, ceterisque virtutibus verè regiis, instructior fuit quàm Jacobus I. Attamen, quia nobilium quorundam scelera et insolentiam acriter compescebat, non defuerunt audaces et mendaces qui ejus famam infami dicto convellere et perstringere conarentur."

BARCLAIUS de Regali Potestate, p. 347. Paris. 1600, 4to.

ferocity to accomplish their purpose. After an unavailing resistance, he sank under their poniards covered with many wounds. Such was their brutality, that the queen herself did not escape without injury.

James was thus murdered on the twentieth day of February, 1437, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his actual reign.

The assassins did not remain unpunished. The principal traitors were secured within the space of a few weeks; and were condemned to suffer torments which humanity shudders to contemplate[m].

[m] In the appendix to the first volume of his history, Mr Pinkerton has published *A full lamentable Cronycle of the Dethe and false Murdure of James Stewarde, last Kynge of Scottys.* This chronicle was translated into English from a Latin original; which, says Mr Pinkerton, was "probably published in Scotland by authority." It however appears to me to exhibit internal evidence of its having been composed by some native of England. In support of this decision, I shall at present content myself with producing a single passage: "The Kyng of Scottes hadde leve enlagiesid, and had saufecondit of *his maister* the Kyng of England, (for so the Kyng of Scottes clepid hym.)" P. 462. No Scotish writer would have represented his sovereign as a vassal of the English crown.

This account of the murder of King James, and the execution of the traitors, differs in many particulars from the statements exhibited by Bower and the other Scotish historians. The comparative authenticity of the different writers it would perhaps be difficult to estimate.

Baldwyn's legend, "How Kyng Iames the First, for breaking his othes and bondes, was by God's suffraunce miserably murdered of hys owne Subiectes," occurs in the *Myrrour for Magistrates*, edit. Lond. 1563, 4to. It was afterwards omitted in the edition of Niccols. This legend is at once unpoetical and illiberal. James has also been charged by some of the English historians with the breach of his oath of fealty; but no competent proof can be produced of his having acknowledged Henry the Fifth as

James, though somewhat short of stature, was possest of uncommon bodily strength. Æneas Sylvius has described him as corpulent[n]; but Mair insinuates, that as the intenser heat of the Italian climate has a tendency to reduce the body to an arid state, natives of Italy are apt to represent the Britons in general as of a gross habit[o]. He is celebrated as a proficient in all the violent exercises which were then regarded as manly and becoming. He was well acquainted with the use of the bow and the spear; and handled his sword with the dexterity of a professional fencer. He equally excelled as a skilful horseman, as an indefatigable walker, and as a fleet runner. His employments and recreations were so numerous, that not a single moment of his life appears to have been left unimproved. His leisure hours were alternately dedicated to those hardy exercises, and to the pursuits of gardening, painting, music, and poetry[p].

His private character was of the most amiable kind; his public virtues shine with distinguished lustre in the annals of his memorable reign. "It was the misfortune of James," says Dr Robertson,

his liege lord. Hall has observed, that James never "fauored Englishemen before the Frenche people:" and to this part of his conduct we may undoubtedly trace the origin of that enmity which the English writers have discovered towards his memory.

[n] Pii Secundi Asiæ Europæque Descriptio, p. 424.

[o] Major de Gestis Scotorum, p. 308.

[p] Bower. Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 505. edit. Goodall.

" that his maxims and manners were too refined for the age in which he lived. Happy! had he reigned in a kingdom more civilized: his love of peace, of justice, and of elegance, would have rendered his schemes successful; and instead of perishing because he had attempted too much, a grateful people would have applauded and seconded his efforts to reform and to improve them."

This royal poet has found abundance of editors; but no complete and accurate impression of his works has hitherto made its appearance. In 1691 *Christis Kirk of the Grene* was published at Oxford by the learned Dr Gibson: and this is the earliest edition of any of his poems which has yet been discovered. In what manner the copy was procured, whether it was printed or in manuscript, the editor has not thought proper to specify. The text is extremely corrupt, but the notes are learned and curious. The next edition of this poem occurs in *The Ever-Green*, which was published at Edinburgh in 1724. Ramsay, it is well known, was a most unfaithful and injudicious editor. At Edinburgh in the year 1782, Mr Callander of Craigforth published " Two Ancient Scottish Poems; the Gaberlunzieman and Christ's Kirk on the Green, with Notes and Observations." In editing the latter of these poems, he has neither consulted Bannatyne's MS. nor adhered to the text of Bishop Gibson or to that of Allan Ramsay; but has " given such

readings as appeared to him most consonant to the phraseology of the *sixteenth* century." From such a plan little could be hoped: but his deficiencies as a mere editor are amply compensated by his uncommon erudition as a philologer. In his very curious annotations he endeavours to elucidate "the true system of etymology, which consists in deriving the words of every language from the radical sounds of the first, or original tongue, as it was spoken by Noah and the builders of Babel." In the additional notes on *The Gaberlunzieman*, the editor's general principles are further illustrated by the erudition and ingenuity of the late Dr Doig. Mr Callander exhibited these philological disquisitions as a specimen of his meditated Dictionary of the Scotish Language; a plan which it is to be regretted that he did not carry into execution.

Mr Tytler's edition of the *Poetical Remains of James the First* was published at Edinburgh in the year 1783. These reliques are *Christis Kirk*, published from Bannatyne's MS. and *The King's Quair*, from a MS. formerly in the possession of Selden, and now preserved in the Bodleyan Library. The edition is accompanied with dissertations, on the life and writings of King James, and on Scotish music. The transcript of *The King's Quair* the editor professes to have received from "an ingenious young gentleman, a student of Oxford." This ingenious gentleman, who must

indeed have been very young in the study of poetical antiquities, presented him, as he informs us, with "a very accurate copy." His mode of ascertaining its accuracy it might not have been improper to specify: the original MS. was certainly never inspected by himself; and if his young friend extolled his own fidelity, such a testimony ought not to have been admitted. Whatever Mr Tytler might suppose, the transcript must have been shamefully incorrect. His edition has been collated with the MS. and found to contain upwards of three hundred variations.

In his collection of *Select Scotish Ballads*, published at London in 1783, Mr Pinkerton has inserted *Peblis to the Play* and *Christis Kirk*. From the Maitland MSS. he has published a more genuine edition of the latter work in the appendix to his *Ancient Scotish Poems*; a valuable collection which appeared at London in 1786.

All the productions ascribed to King James may be found in Mr Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, published at Edinburgh in 1802. Here however *The King's Quair* appears in a mutilated state.

THE poetical reputation of King James has now stood the test of many ages, and cannot be supposed to derive much support from adventitious circumstances. The talents which he possessed were such as might have rendered him conspicuous in any station of life; and he evidently

enjoyed many opportunities of intellectual improvement. From the fatal influence of that uncircumscribed indulgence by which the rising virtues of princes are so often marred in their growth, he was seasonably removed by an event which otherwise might have been deemed calamitous. The early blandishments of a court may corrupt a heart susceptible of every fine impression, and adulterate an understanding formed for extending the paths of human reason. But amid the comparative solitude of his prison, James was left to improve the native energies of his mind, and to nurse many a high thought.

The enthusiastic admiration of some of his biographers has invested him with qualities almost supernatural: and although their encomiums are in a great measure supported by the monuments of his genius which still remain, we ought perhaps to receive them with certain limitations. Universal excellence cannot fall to the lot of an individual; the mind of man is limited in its faculties, and cannot divide its exertions without diminishing their efficacy. James however was undoubtedly possest of real genius: and his share of acquired knowledge appears to have exceeded that of his most learned subjects. Buchanan has justly remarked, that his conduct as a wise and upright ruler was conspicuously displayed in the political transactions of his reign. And notwithstanding his assi-

duity in discharging the duties of his high station, he found sufficient leisure for the cultivation of those studies which had cheered him amid the gloom of a long captivity [a]. His mind appears to have been of that active kind which is never satisfied with its own attainments; which is always occupied in the execution of some plan formerly arranged, or in the consideration of some new object of pursuit. It is to this mental activity that every species of eminence must be ascribed. Many of those who descend so ingloriously into the grave, might by due exertion transmit their names to the tribes who are yet to people the earth.

Such of his compositions as have escaped the ravages of time, are entitled to high commendation. He excels in serious as well as in ludicrous poetry. His works evince a warm imagination and a feeling heart: and he undoubtedly possessed in an eminent degree the power of moving the risible faculty.

During his tedious captivity, he enjoyed an opportunity of familiarizing himself with the best English models; a circumstance to which his li-

[a] "Pro qualitate temporis et consonantia morum horum qui ejus præsentiam regiam et ex intimis affectabant, absque aliquali desidia, nunc operi artis literatoriæ et scripturæ, nunc protractioni et picturæ, nunc in jardinis herbarum et arborum fructiferarum plantationi et inserturæ, nunc honestis ludis et solatiis, ad refocillandum suorum sequacium animos, sine offendiculo complacenti instabat curæ."

Bower. Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 505.

terary eminence may partly be attributed. Chaucer and Gower are the poets whom he represents as his masters in the art of composition:

Vnto impnis of my maisteris dere,
Gowere and Chaucere, that on the steppis satt
Of rethorike, quhill thai were lyvand here,
Superlatiue as poetis laureate,
In moralitee and eloquence ornate,
I recommend my buk in lynis seven,
And eke thair saulis vnto the blisse of hevin.

Frequent imitations of the English poets may perhaps be discovered in his works. The following coincidence can hardly be regarded as accidental:

O wery ghost! that errist to and fro,
Why n'ilt thou flien out of the wofullest
Body that evir might on grounde ygo?
O soule! lurking in this woful neste,
Flee forth anon, and do mine herte to breste.

CHAUCER.

O besy goste! ay flikering to and fro,
That never art in quiet nor in rest,
Till thou cum to that place that thou cam fro,
Quhich is thy first and verray proper nest.

K. JAMES.

With Latin authors there is reason to believe that he was pretty familiarly acquainted: but when Mr Tytler celebrates his proficiency in the

Greek language, it need only be remarked that this seems among the number of recent discoveries.

The most celebrated of the poems attributed to King James, is that entitled *Christis Kirk of the Grene*: but with regard to the genuineness of this inimitable production, much controversy has arisen among poetical antiquaries.

It has been urged by Lord Hailes, that although several of this monarch's compositions are enumerated by Mair, yet that writer is totally silent concerning the existence of such a poem as *Christi Kirk*. This however is only a negative argument, and, at the same time, stated without due precision. Mair has not indeed informed us that James was the author of the work in question; but as we are not presented with a complete catalogue of his compositions, room is left for supposing that he was the author of this poem, as well as of several others to which we are only referred in general terms. In our native language, says the historian, he was a most skilful composer: and very many of his works are still preserved[*]. Of these however he has only men-

[*] "In vernacula lingua artificiosum se componere: cujus codices plures et maxime memorabiles adhuc apud Scotos inter primos habentur. Artificiosum libellum de regina cum aquivis erat componit, antequam eam in uxorem duceret, in quem artificiosam cantilenam ejusdem, *Ye* [illegible] *de Christ Kirk on the Grene* dicunt. *de Burgo*, &c. quem aut de Dulcedo in Christi matre vocitarunt: quia in ante non omnes [illegible] quæ in illam cum maxime habebantur."

Major de Gestis Scotorum, p. 300.

tioned three; a number to which the term *plurimi*, or very many, can hardly be thought applicable.

Another argument of this learned writer is, that the author of the poem mentions the games of Peebles; which are supposed to have been instituted posterior to the reign of James the First. But this objection has been completely removed by the publication of *Peblis to the Play*. From this poem it is certain that the annual festival of Peebles began to be celebrated at an earlier æra than Lord Hailes has assigned.—The arguments by which Mr Sibbald attempts to demonstrate that *Peblis to the Play* is likewise a spurious composition, do not seem entitled to a serious refutation.

It is further urged, that Gibson, Tanner, and the editor of Douglas's Virgil, have attributed this production to James the Fifth. In a dispute of this nature, the authority of writers who lived at so recent a period is certainly entitled to little regard. Authorities are of a motley character, and ought to be reduced to a kind of mathematical scale.

Dr Gibson, it is incumbent upon me to observe, was not, as Lord Hailes seems to suppose, the earliest writer who referred this poem to James the Fifth. Dempster, who wrote at the beginning of the seventeenth century, extols this monarch as a poet of rare genius, and as the author of "a

heroic poem on the rural dances of *Falkirk*[s]." We have now perhaps traced an error to its source. Dempster, it is recorded, was wont to assert that he knew not what it is to forget: but this is a claim which Magliabechi himself could hardly have been permitted to advance. The numerous errors which pervade his strange work, we must either ascribe to a defect of memory or of integrity[t]. As he wrote in a foreign country where few Scotish books could be procured, the accurate execution of his plan would have required such a power of reminiscence as no man ever enjoyed. In the present instance his memory has evidently proved treacherous. Instead of *Christ's Kirk*, he writes *Falkirk*. He represents this poem as of the epic kind; for the word *epos* must either signify a work strictly epic, or at least composed in heroic verse. After having convicted him of two errors, we may without injustice suspect him of a third; we may suppose that he inadvertently substituted James the Fifth instead of his ancestor James the First. When

[s] "Erat illi amœnissimum ingenium, quod ab eo poemata relicta testantur; quorum ego tantùm vidi 'De Choræis Rusticis Fakirkensibus' epos vernacule, lib. 1. quo nihil ingeniosius aut Græci aut Latini ostentare possunt."

DEMPSTER. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 382.

[t] "Tam suspectæ fidei hominem illum fuisse comperimus, et toties tesseram fregisse, ut oculatos nos esse hîc oporteat, et, nisi quod videmus, nihil ab eo acceptum credere."

USSERII Britannic. Eccles. Antiquitates, p. 726.

Dr Gibson published his edition of *Christis Kirk of the Grene*, he represented it as a poem "composed, as is supposed," by the former of those monarchs. This form of expression plainly indicates, that he himself was not completely satisfied with respect to its genuineness. Dr Tanner, who flourished during the earlier part of the last century, has referred it to the same author[u]: and, if the controversy is to be decided by arguments of this kind, a long catalogue of names may be added. Dempster, Gibson, and Tanner, have been followed by Warton, Percy, Ritson, and other writers who have directed their attention to the history of Scotish literature[v]. But it is evident that most of these have without examination adopted the opinion of their predecessors.

Mr Callander's suggestions next solicit our notice. "Many different writers," he observes, "have said that this ballad was composed by James V. and many arguments are advanced for this opinion; such as, the exact description of the manners and character of Scottish peasants, with which James V. was intimately acquainted, as he delighted in strolling about in disguise among the lower people and farmers; in which

[u] Tanner. Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 426.

[v] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 318.
Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 60.
Ritson's Hist. Essay on Scotish Song, p. xxxvi.
Walpole's Catal. of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 183.

excursions he sometimes met with odd adventures, one of which he is said to have made the subject of his *Gaberlunzieman*, which we have therefore prefixed to *Christ's Kirk on the Green;* and indeed the style and strain of humour in both are perfectly similar[w]."

If James the Fifth was accurately acquainted with the manners of his subjects, we are not under the necessity of concluding, that a large portion of the same species of knowledge could not possibly have fallen to the share of his ancestor. Mr Callander ought to have recollected, that the practice of strolling about in disguise was common to both[x]. Till it can be proved that James the Fifth is the author of *The Gaberlunzieman*, it will be unnecessary to institute a comparison between the two works.—He is also represented as the author of *The Jollie Beggar:* but such traditions are vague and unsatisfactory.

It is evident, says Bishop Percy, that *Christis Kirk of the Grene* is a more modern production than *Peblis to the Play*[y]. "To give judgment between them," observes Mr Tytler, "or to say that the one is of an age older than the other, appears to me to be so nice, that, were I not con-

[w] Callander's Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 100.

[x] The following quotation relates to James the First: "Mutatâ veste velut privatum inter privatos ac maxime inter mercatores, quòd aliorum ædes non ita cuivis expositæ essent, sese immiscuit."

Boetius Scotorum Historia, f. 352.

[y] See Pinkerton's Select Scotish Ballads, vol. ii. p. 163.

vinced, from their internal marks, that they have been written in the same age, one might be induced to think, from sundry stanzas in the poem of *Peblis*, that it is much more modern than *Christ's Kirk* [z]."

To discover those internal marks by which a composition may be referred to its proper æra, will always be found a task of the utmost difficulty. Strictures which merely relate to orthography may commonly be offered without much hazard; an appeal is here made to palpable objects, not to those internal sensations which are so much regulated by the peculiar associations of the individual. But it is with less security that arguments are drawn from the shades of national taste, from the particular modes of thinking which prevail in different ages, and from the gradual progression or retrogradation of language.

Dr Bentley has remarked, that "the censures that are made from stile and language alone, are commonly nice and uncertain, and depend upon slender notices. Some very sagacious and learned men have been deceived in those conjectures, even to ridicule. The great Scaliger published a few iambics, as a choice fragment of an old tragedian, given him by Muretus; who soon after confess'd the jest, that they were made by himself. Boxhornius writ a commentary upon a small poem *De Lite*, supposed by him to be

[z] Tytler's Dissertation on the Scottish Music, p. 244.

some ancient author's; but it was soon discover'd to be Michael Hospitalius's, a late Chancellor of France. So that if I had no other argument but the stile, to detect the spuriousness of Phalaris's Epistles, I my self indeed should be satisfied with that alone, but I durst not hope to convince every body else [a]."

The sentiments of this great critic may serve to regulate us in our present disquisition. After having with sufficient minuteness compared the two poems, I remain in the conviction that they are productions of the same age: and, if they happen to be viewed by others in a different light, I must decline the task of a verbal collation.

Such are the arguments which seem to authorize us in ascribing this composition to some other author than Dempster has assigned. That its real author was James the First, is rendered more than probable by the testimony of George Bannatyne. James the Fifth died in 1542: Bannatyne formed his collection of Scotish poetry about the year 1568; and if that monarch had in reality been the author of so excellent a production, his claims could not have escaped the knowledge of one who paid such laudable attention to the poetical literature of his native country. This collector has however attributed *Christis Kirk* to James the First: nor can any

[a] Bentley's Dissertation upon Phalaris, p. 19.

other testimony of the same antiquity be produced in support of either opinion.

*Christis Kirk of the Grene*, to whatever author it may be referred, is undoubtedly a poem of singular merit [b]. It is a current remark, that Scotland has produced few humorous writers of much distinction: and the accuracy of this position must readily be admitted. At the same time however, it will certainly be acknowledged, that the compositions of James the First, Arbuthnot, Smollett, and Moore, exhibit specimens of genuine humour; though it unfortunately happens, that each of those writers spent a considerable part of his life in England.

The exquisite pleasantry of this production of King James has rendered it the most popular of

[b] The Rev. George Donaldson conjectures, that the scene of the exploits described in this poem was Christ's Kirk in the parish of Kennethmont and county of Aberdeen; where a fair was formerly held during the night. "It is well known," he observes, "that James visited the most distant parts of his kingdom to hear complaints and redress grievances. And it is not impossible, nor even very improbable, that in his progress he may have seen or heard of Christ's Kirk. Now, what place more likely to strike the fancy of this monarch, than one distinguished by so singular a custom? The circumstance of the market at midnight may be supposed to fall in with his humour, and give birth to such scenes as he has described. Even the name of the performance is descriptive of the place: for the green still encircles the ruins of the kirk; and it is besides the only one in Scotland that I am acquainted with, to which the name of the ballad is applicable."

SINCLAIR'S Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xiii. p. 77.

our ancient poetical reliques[c]. Not long after the appearance of Dr Gibson's edition, two additional cantos were written by Allan Ramsay: but these are in every respect inferior to the masterly draught of the royal author. Of King James's poem a Latin translation has lately been published: and for this, it is reported, we are indebted to the Rev. John Skinner. His choice of a measure consecrated to tender and melancholy subjects, cannot be regarded as altogether judicious. The genuine humour of the original is by no means transfused into his version: King James presents us with a succession of highly ludicrous objects, and never fails to mark them with the characteristic lines of his bold pencil; but Mr Skinner has often contented himself with a general representation of the sense, and has suffered those arch peculiarities of manner to elude his grasp. It ought however to be recollected that the task of decking British humour in a classical garb, is one of the most hopeless that can be undertaken. In such an attempt who could have succeeded?

As this translation has not perhaps fallen into the hands of very many readers, I shall here exhibit a few stanzas as a specimen:

Fervidus hinc audaxque, Henricus nomine, miles,
Qui miræ arcitenens calliditatis erat,

[c] One likes no language but the Faery Queen;
A Scot will fight for Christ's Kirk o' the Green.
POPE.

Instrumenta rapit, fuerant quæ proxima belli;
Tam violenta illi pectoris ira fuit.
Fortia an errarint jaculando brachia, necne,
An fuerit, dubium est, alter amicus homo;
Hic tamen evasit, certe auxiliante Mariâ,
Ut qui tale mali nil meditatus erat.

Laurius inde feri saliebat more leonis,
Et pennatâ citò tela parare potest:
Spondebat juveni mediam terebrare papillam,
Ni faceret, contra sponte daturus ovem:
Inferiora tamen percussit arundine ventris;
Ut vesica, cavum fecit arundo sonum:
Namque benigna viro tantùm fortuna favebat,
Indusium ut crassâ pelle tegebat eum.

Plaga tamen gressus adeo labefecit eunti,
Succiduo in terram volvitur ille genu:
Alter ut extinctum nec-opinâ morte reliquit,
Et procul ut potuit fugit ab urbe pavens.
Egressæ matres lapsum de stercore tollunt,
Inveniuntque animæ signa manentis adhuc:
Tunc tribus in clunes refovebant ictibus ægrum,
Semianimemque citò restituere virum [d].

I shall now produce the original passage; and every reader may exercise his own judgment by instituting a comparison:

Ane haistie hensour callit Harie,
Quhilk was ane archer heynd,
Tit up ane takill, but ony tary,
That turment so him teynd.

[d] Mr Skinner's translation may be found in a collection entitled *Carminum Rariorum Macaronicorum Delectus, fasciculus primus.* Edinb. 1801 8vo.

I wait nocht quhidder his hand culd varie,
Or gif the man was his freynd;
Bot he chapeit, throw the michts of Marie,
As man that na evil meynd
That tyme,
At Chryst's kirk.

Than Lowrie as ane lyoun lap,
And sone ane flane culd fedder:
He kecht to pers him at the pap,
Thairon to wed ane wedder.
He hit him on the wambe ane wap,
And it buft lyke ane bladder:
But lo! as fortoun was and hap,
His doublat was of ledder,
And sauft him,
At Chryst's kirk of, &c.

The buff so bousteouslie abasit him,
To the erd he duschit doun:
The tother for dreid he preissit him,
And fled out of the toun.
The wyffs come furth, and up thay paisit him,
And fand lyf in the loun;
And with thre routis thay raisit him,
And 'coverit him of swoune
Agane,
At Chryst's kirk.

*Peblis to the Play* is another burlesque poem, descriptive of rustic merriment and of rustic quarrels. Though perhaps of inferior merit, it exhibits marks of the same lineage. These two poems are composed in a stanza of which we find no other specimens in our ancient writers: their

subjects are of a similar cast, and enlivened by the same vein of native humour.

In the *Compendious Booke of Godly and Spirituall Songs* the following stanzas are ascribed to King James:

Sen throw vertue incressis dignity
And vertew is flowre and rute of nobles ay,
Of ony wit or what estate thou be,
His steps follow, and dreid for none effray.
Eject vice, and follow treuth alway:
Lufe maist thy God that first thy lufe began,
And for ilk inch he will thee quite ane span.

Be not ouer proud in thy prosperity;
For as it cummis, sa will it passe away.
The line to compt is short, thou may well see;
For of greene grasse soone cummis wallowid hay.
Labour in treuth, quhilk suith is of thy fay.
Traist maist in God, for he best guide thee can,
And for ilk inch he will thee quite ane span.

Sen word is thrall, and thoght is only free,
Thou daunt thy toung, that power hes; and may
Thou steik thy eine fra warlds vanity:
Refraine thy lust, and harken what I say:
Graip or thou slide, and keep thee furth the hie way:
Thou hald thee fast vpon thy God, and man,
And for ilk inch he will thee quite ane span[c].

The republication of this as a Scotish poem of the sixteenth century may be considered as some-

[c] Dalyell's Scotish Poems of the xvith Cent. vol. ii. p. 216.

what anomalous. The author died in the fifteenth century.

Mair has informed us, that James composed an elaborate poem in celebration of his future consort, "et aliam artificiosam cantilenam ejusdem." The former of these productions is undoubtedly *The King's Quair:* and the latter is supposed to be *A Sang on Absence* which has lately been published. It begins thus:

Sen that eyne that workis my weilfair[f].

This line is evidently mutilated, and does not correspond to those which occupy the same station in the succeeding stanzas. Mr Pinkerton therefore proposes to read,

*Yas, sen* that the eyne that works my weilfair.

Mair observes that the *cantilena* began in this manner. Mr Ritson however conjectures that we ought to correct the text of the historian by reading *Sen yat*[g]. And either of these suppositions will, in some measure, authorize us in regarding King James as the author of the song on absence.

*The King's Quair*, a poem of considerable length, was written before his return to Scotland; though

[f] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. ii. p. 214.

[g] Ritson's Hist. Essay on Scotish Song, p. xxx.

the language of it does not savour very strongly of Anglicisms. It is conducted with much spirit, and exhibits frequent traces of a fine invention. Like other productions of the same æra, it is indeed deformed by an unfortunate mixture of Christian and Pagan theology: but in a poem of such distinguished merit, incongruities of this kind may readily be overlooked. Few allegorical compositions can be perused with a superior degree of interest. It exhibits the illustrious author in a very amiable point of view; it affords us an opportunity of contemplating him as the elegant scholar and the tender lover. Its subject is the praise of the Lady Jane Seymour, whom he afterwards espoused. This lady he seems to have regarded with a high degree of romantic affection; and it may be presumed that his love did not meet with a cold return. But with dreams of eternal constancy let no poetical youth regale his fancy. When the swords of the assassins had deprived her of one husband, she was not slow in providing herself with another[h].

Of this beautiful production, it may not be improper to present the reader with a brief analysis.

The poet, having awaked from his sleep and

[h] After the death of the king, says Mair, she espoused Sir James Stewart, a young man not of the highest rank. Among the British, second marriages of queens are not considered as indecent; as indeed they are not in reality: for, according to the apostle, it is better to marry than to burn. But she ought to have selected for her husband some man of the first distinction in the kingdom. (Major *De Gestis Scotorum*, p. 312.)

found himself indisposed for further repose, begins to amuse himself by reading Boëthius *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*[1]. Having at length shut the book, and stretched himself on his couch, he is natually led, after the perusal of such an author, to reflect on the general instability of human affairs. His private misfortunes also recur to his mind. He rises from his bed, and is induced to form the resolution of undertaking some new composition.

His early misfortune in being so long detained in a foreign country, still presses upon his recollection. On this subject he touches in a very interesting manner:

Not far passit the state of innocence
Bot nere about the nowmer of zeiris thre,
Were it causit throu hevinly influence
Of Goddis will, or other casualtee,
Can I not say, bot out of my contree,
By thair avise that had of me the cure,
Be see to pas tuke I my aventure.

Purvait of all that was us nesessarye,
With wynd at will up airely by the morowe
Streight unto schip, no longere wold we tarye,
The way we tuke the tyme I told to forowe,
With mony *fare wele*, and Sanct Johne to borowe,

[1] Of this work of Boëthius, notwithstanding the paucity of our translations, several English versions have been published by natives of Scotland; by Lord Preston, the Rev. Mr Ridpath, and Mr Duncan. A fourth translation appears to have been executed by one Douglas: Hume of Godscroft has addrest a poem "Ad Georgium Duglasium, traducto Boëthio de Consolatione." (Humii *Lusus Poetici*, p. 62. Lond. 1605, 4to.)

Of falowe and frende; and thus with one assent
We pullit up saile and furth our wayis went.

Upon the wawis weltring to and fro,
So infortunate was we that fremyt day,
That maugre plainly quethir we wold or no,
With strong hand by forse schortly to say,
Of inymyis taken and led away
We weren all, and broght in thaire contree:
Fortune it schupe non othir wayis to be.

Quhare as in strayte ward, and in strong prison,
So fere forth of my lyf the hevy lyne,
Without confort in sorowe abandoune,
The secund sistere lukit hath to tuyne,
Nere by the space of zeris twice nyne,
Till Jupiter his merci list advert,
And send confort in relesche of my smert.

Occupied with recollections of this kind, he approaches the window of his apartment, and listens to the amorous song of the nightingale. This leads him to speculate concerning the nature of love; a passion with which he professes to be hitherto unacquainted.

Eft wold I think, O Lord, quhat may this be
That lufe is of so noble mycht and kynde?
Lufing his folk, and suich prosperitee,
Is it of him as we in bukis find?
May he oure hertis setten and unbynd?
Hath he upon our hertis suich maistrye?
Or all this is bot feynit fantasye?

For giff he be of so grete excellence,
That he of every wight hath cure and charge,
Quhat have I gilt to him or doon offense,
That I am thrall, and birdis gone at large,
Sen him to serve he mycht set my corage?
And gif he be nót so, than may I seyne,
Quhat makis folk to jangill of him in veyne?

Can I not ellis fynd bot giff that he
Be lord, and as a god may lyve and regne,
To bynd and louse, and makin thrallis free,
Than wold I pray his blissful grace benigne
To hable me unto his service digne,
And evermore for to be one of tho
Him trewly for to serve in wele and wo.

And therewith kest I down myn eye ageyne
Quhare as I saw walkyng under the toure,
Full secretly, new-cumyn hir to pleyne,
The fairest or the freschest zoung floure
That ever I sawe, methocht, before that houre:
For quhich sodayne abate, anon asterte
The blude of all my body to my hert.

And though I stood abnisit tho a lyte,
No wonder was: for quhy? my wittis all
Were so ouercome with plesance and delyte,
Only through latting of myn eyen fall,
That sudaynly my hert become hir thrall
For ever of free wyll; for of menace
There was no takyn in her suete face.

And in my hede I drew ryght hastily,
And eft sones I lent it forth ageyne,
And saw hir walk that verray womanly

With no wight mo but only women tueyne:
Than gan I studye in myself and seyne,
Ah suete! are ze a wardly creature,
Or hevingly thing in likenesse of Nature?---

Quhen I a lytill thrawe had maid my mone,
Bewailing myn infortune and my chance,
Unknawin how or quhat was best to done,
So ferre I fallyng into lufis dance,
That sodeynly my wit, my countenance,
My hert, my will, my nature, and my mind,
Was changit clene ryght in ane other kind.

Of hir array the form gif I sal write,
Toward her goldin haire and rich atyre
In fretwise couchit with perlis quhite,
And grete balas lemyng as the fyre,
With mony ane emerant and saphire,
And on hir hede a chaplet fresch of hewe,
Of plumys partit rede, and quhite, and blewe;

Full of quaking spangis bryght as gold,
Forgit of schap like to the amorettis,
So new, so fresch, so pleasant to behold,
The plumys eke like to the floure jonettis,
And other of schap, like to the floure jonettis.
And, above all this, there was, wele I wote,
Beautee eneuch to mak a world to dote.

On finding himself precluded by his confinement from all hope of approaching his mistress, he falls into a train of melancholy reflection.

So lang till evin for lak of myght and mynd
Ffor-wepit and for-pleynit piteously,
Ourset so sorrow had bothe herte and mynd,
That to the colde stone my hede on wrye
I laid and lenit, amaisit verily!
Half-sleping and half-suoun, in such a wise;
And quhat I met I will zou now deuise.

He imagines that a light suddenly shines through the window, and that a voice exclaims, "I bring thee comfort and hele: be not affrayde." He soon finds himself embraced in a crystal cloud, and transported from sphere to sphere, till he at length reaches the empire of Venus.

Off quhich the place, quhen I com there nye,
Was all methought of christal stonis wrought:
And to the port I liftit was in hye;
Quhare sodaynly, as quho sais at a thought,
It opnyt, and I was anon inbrought
Within a chamber, large rowm and faire;
And there I fand of people grete repaire.

This is to seyne, that present in that place,
Methought I sawe of every nacion
Loueris that endit thaire lyfis space
In Lovis service; mony a mylion
Of quhois chancis maid is mencion
In diverse bukis, quho thame list to se;
And therefore here thaire namys lat I be.

The quhois aventure and grete laboure
Abone their hedis writen there I fand;
This is to seyne, martris, and confessoure,

Ech in his stage, and his make in his hand:
And therewith all thir peple sawe I stand,
With mony a solempt contenance,
After as lufe thame lykit to auance.

The various degrees and conditions of these lovers he describes with great felicity. He enters an apartment where he finds Venus reclining on a couch, and attended by several domestics of appropriate characters. Kneeling before the goddess, he humbly entreats that he may be presented with another opportunity of beholding the lady whom he has lately observed in the garden. Venus addresses him in a condescending manner, and bids him expect a fortunate issue. She however informs him that the aid of another divinity is also requisite; and sends him under the protection of *Gude Hope* to visit the palace of Minerva. Here they soon arrive, and are readily admitted by *Pacience*, the chief porter. Being conducted to the presence of Minerva, he explains the object of his journey. The goddess enquires into the nature of his passion; and, having discovered that it is consonant with virtue, promises to lend her friendly aid. In the mean time she seizes an opportunity of displaying her metaphysical learning, and evinces as accurate an acquaintance with the doctrines of fate and free will as Hierocles or Alexander Aphrodisiensis. She now dismisses him in quest of Fortune, and reconveys him to the earth on a ray of light:

Within a beme, that fro the contree dyvine
Sche percyng throw the firmament extendit,
To ground ageyne my spirit is descendit.

Quhare in a lusty plane tuke I my way,
Endlang a ryuer, plesand to behold,
Enbroudin all with fresche flouris gay;
Quhare throu the grauel, bryght as ony gold,
The cristal water ran so clere and cold,
That it myn ere maist contynualy
A maner soun mellit with armony;

That full of lytill fischis by the brym,
Now here now there, with bakkis blewe as lede,
Lap and playit, and in a rout can swym
So prattily, and dressit thame to sprede
Thaire curall fynis, as the ruby rede,
That in the sonne on thaire scalis bryght
As gesserant ay glitterit in my sight.

And by this ilke ryuer syde alawe
Ane hyeway fand I like to bene,
On quhich on euery syde a longe rawe
Off trees saw I full of levis grene,
That full of fruyte delitable were to sene:
And also, as it come vnto my mynd,
Of bestis saw I mony diuerse kynd.

Conducted by *Gude Hope*, he reaches the station of Fortune; whose eventful wheel is skilfully delineated. Being apprized of his views, she places him on this wheel, and admonishes him to maintain his balance: at the same time she

seizes him so closely by the ear, that he suddenly awakes from his dream.

In the sixth canto he takes occasion to compliment his mistress in more direct terms; and concludes by recommending his work to the spirits of his dear masters Chaucer and Gower.

Such are the outlines of a poem which in many of its detached parts is highly ingenious; a poem which, as Mr Ellis remarks, "is full of simplicity and feeling, and is not inferior, in poetical merit, to any similar production of Chaucer[j]."

King James is understood to have composed various works which are either lost, or are no longer ascribed to their proper author. Of the catalogue exhibited by Bishop Tanner, Mr Pinkerton has spoken in contemptuous terms; though his censure ought rather to have fallen upon Bale[k] and Dempster, the original authorities. His own catalogue is not unexceptionable. Among James's productions he enumerates *Falkland on the Grene*, a poem which, as he informs us, "is unfortunately lost; but we may well suppose it described the sports of Fifeshire, or the middle of Scotland, in words adapted to that part[l]." But that such a production ever existed, must not be too rashly conceded. In the first stanza of *Christis Kirk*, James has indeed men-

j Ellis, Hist. Sketch of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 298.

k Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 217.

l Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. ii. p. 450.

tioned some *place* by the name of Falkland on the Green: but are we therefore authorized to conclude, that he composed a *poem* under this title?

James has often been represented as a writer of Latin verses: and, if we may credit our historians, his compositions of this description were extant at a recent period. Of these they have spoken in very familiar terms; though it may be questioned whether Bower is not the only one of their number who has not spoken at random. Dr Mackenzie has here acquitted himself with uncommon dexterity. King James, he first asserts, "wrote verses both in Latine and English (of which many are yet extant) without any constraint[m]:" but we are afterwards informed that all his works are now lost. It is however certain that he composed Latin rhymes; for one of his couplets has been preserved by Bower. During the sitting of the parliament which met at Inverness in the year 1427, he ordered several offenders to be arrested; and, while his commands were executing, "the king made metre, saying to those who stood near him,"

> Ad turrim fortem ducamus cautè cohortem;
> Per Christi sortem, meruerunt hi quia mortem[n].

From this specimen it would appear that his attention to prosody was not very scrupulous.

[m] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. i. p. 316.

[n] Bower. Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 489.

Dempster has asserted, that King James wrote a treatise *De Musica*[o]: and this erroneous statement has been copied by Tanner and other literary historians. The authority which he quotes is that of Hector Boyce; in whose work there is however no mention of any such composition: nor in a case of this kind could he have been considered as a sufficient voucher. Certain it is however that James has always been regarded as an adept in the practical part of music[p]: and from him the national music is understood to have derived such important improvements, that a more particular examination of his claims may here be introduced without any violation of propriety. The elegant arts, as Cicero has remarked, are con-

[o] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 381.

[p] Mr Tytler informs us, that "Fordun has a whole chapter, the 29th of his history, on King James's learning and knowledge in the ancient Greek, as well as in the more modern scales of music, which for its curiosity, is worthy to be read by the modern theorists in music." (*Dissertation on the Scottish Music*, p. 199.) In any other passage of the same length, it would perhaps be impossible to discover such a complication of errors. The chapter to which Mr Tytler refers, is not the composition of Fordun, but of his continuator Bower: nor is it the twenty-ninth, but the twenty-ninth of the sixteenth book of the *Scotichronicon*, which contains this musical information. With respect to Grecian music it does not furnish us with a single hint. The greater part of this chapter is moreover a profest quotation from the writer *De Mirabilibus Hiberniæ*; that is, from Gerald Barry, better known by the name of Sylvester Giraldus Cambrensis. The hints which Mr Tytler supposes to refer to Grecian music, are delivered in the words of this writer; who has indeed employed terms of Greek derivation. If he extolled King James's musical talents, it must have been in the way of prediction: for James was not born till about two centuries after the death of Barry.

nected with each other by a kind of natural affinity. In tracing the history of Scotish poetry, a slight degree of attention seems due to Scotish music.

" It has never appeared in the course of my enquiries," says Dr Burney, " that poetry and music have advanced with equal pace towards perfection, in any country. Almost every nation of Europe has produced good poetry before it could boast of such an arrangement of musical sounds as constitutes good melody[q]." Before either the theory or the practice of music began to be studied with any degree of assiduity in Scotland, that country had produced various poets of no mean character. Gerald Barry, who flourished about the year 1200, has indeed informed us that, in the opinion of many, the Scotish music was even superior to the Irish; and that three musical instruments, the harp, *tympanum*, and *chorus*, were used in Scotland, while only two, the harp and *tympanum*, were used in Ireland[r]. But this commendation must undoubtedly be limited to such of the inhabitants of Scotland as were of

[q] Burney's History of Music, vol. ii. p. 336.

[r] " Hibernia quidem tantùm duobus utitur et delectatur instrumentis, cytherâ scilicet et tympano; Scotia tribus, cytherâ, tympano, et choro; Gwallia verò cytherâ, tibiis, et choro. Æneis quoque magis utuntur chordis Hiberni quàm de corio factis. Multorum autem opinione, hodie Scotia non tantùm *magistram* æquiparavit Hiberniam, verùm etiam in musica peritia longe prævalet et præcellit. Unde et ibi quasi fontem artis jam requirunt."

GIRALDI Topographia Hiberniæ, p. 739. apud Camden.

Celtic origin. There is reason to believe that the Highlanders, from their intercourse with the Irish, became acquainted with the use of the harp at a very early period[s]: and Dr Thomas Campbell even contends that the honour of inventing what is termed the Scotish music, must be ascribed to Ireland[t]. The harp does not appear to have been at any time a favourite instrument among the Lowlanders. The instrument used by the Highlanders, says Mair, is a harp strung with cords of brass; which they modulate very sweetly[u]. This observation affords indirect evidence that the harp was but little known among the rest of the inhabitants. Of the other musical instruments enumerated by Barry, no very definite notion can perhaps be formed.

It has been supposed that "in the twelfth century church-music must have been in an advanced state in Scotland[v]." The learned writer who maintains this opinion has contented himself with quoting a passage from the works of Ailred, as it is translated by Dr Mackenzie. Of the validity of such an authority he however appears to have entertained some suspicion; for in a marginal note he subjoins an observation which ought to

[s] Walker's Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards, p. 74. Lond. 1786, 4to.

[t] Campbell's Survey of the South of Ireland, p. 455.

[u] Major de Gestis Scotorum, p. 34.

[v] Pinkerton's Essay on the Origin of Scotish Poetry, p. lxvi.

have suspended his general conclusion. "My author," says he, "is so inaccurate, that I know not if it be of the English or Scotish music that Ælred speaks." But in reality Ailred has neither particularized the church-music of Scotland nor of England[w]. His observations most undoubtedly refer to the mode in which the ecclesiastical chants were at that time generally conducted. The opinion that Ailred was a native of Scotland, seems to rest on the bold assertion of Dempster. He was born in England; but some part of his

[w] As the passage on which Mr Pinkerton founds his opinion is somewhat remarkable, I shall here transcribe it from the *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, tom. xxiii. p. 118. "Unde quæso, cessantibus jam typis et figuris, unde ecclesiâ tot organa, tot cymbala? Ad quid, rogo, terribilis ille follium flatus, tonitrui potiùs fragorem, quàm vocis exprimens suavitatem? Ad quid illa vocis contractio et infractio? Hic succinit, ille discinit; alter supercinit, alter medias quasdam notas dividit, et incidit. Nunc vox stringitur, nunc frangitur, nunc impingitur, nunc diffusiori sonitu dilatatur. Aliquando, quod pudet dicere, in equinos hinnitus cogitur, aliquando virili vigore deposito, in fœmineæ vocis gracilitate acuitur, nonnunquam artificiosâ quadam circumvolutione torquetur et retorquetur. Videas aliquando hominem aperto ore, quasi intercluso halitu exspirare, non cantare, ac ridiculosâ quadam vocis interceptione, quasi minitare silentium, nunc agones morientium vel ecstasim patientium imitari. Interim histrionicis quibusdam gestibus totum corpus agitatur, torquentur labia, rotant oculi, ludunt humeri, et ad singulas quasque notas digitorum flexus respondet. Et hæc ridiculosa dissolutio vocatur religio; et ubi hæc frequentiùs agitantur, ibi Deo honorabiliùs serviri clamatur.

"Stans interea vulgus sonitum follium, crepitumque cymbalorum, harmoniam fistularum, tremens attonitusque miratur; sed lascivas cantantium gesticulationes, meretricias vocum alternationes et infractiones, non sine cachinno risuque intuetur, ut eos non ad oratorium, sed ad theatrum, non ad orandum, sed ad spectandum, æstimes convenisse."

AILRED. Speculum Charitatis, lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

life was spent in Scotland. Although he thus enjoyed an opportunity of informing himself with respect to the state of music in the latter country, no rule of logic authorizes us thence to conclude that he could not also be acquainted with the state of this art in other nations. When he asks why so many organs are introduced into the churches, we may rest satisfied that those churches were not to be found in Scotland. Boyce affirms that organs were unknown in this country till the reign of James the First[x]: and, whatever notion may be formed of such an authority, it must at least appear extremely improbable that they were used in the Scotish churches so early as the days of Ailred.

Dempster informs us that the ecclesiastical music of Scotland derived many important improvements from Simon Taylor, a Dominican friar who flourished about the year 1240; and in support of this assertion he refers to George Newton's lives of the Bishops of Dumblane. Taylor, it is affirmed, was compared by his contemporaries to Guido Aretino: he effected such a reformation in the ecclesiastical chants, that Scotland might in this particular vie with Rome itself: he moreover composed four treatises on musical subjects[y]. Those who have examined

[x] Boëthii Scotorum Historia, f. 348. b.

[y] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 617.

the writings of Dempster with a critical eye, will be cautious in drawing inferences from such information as depends upon his sole authority. What corroboration the above statement might have received from George Newton, I am unable to ascertain. It may however be regarded as sufficiently probable, that the task of reforming the church-music was reserved for King James. Before his reign the elegant arts had certainly made very inconsiderable progress. The horn which summoned the warlike chiefs to battle, was the sweetest music that could salute their ears[z]. But the example and patronage of this illustrious monarch tended in some degree to stamp a value upon accomplishments which had hitherto been deemed illiberal. James is himself represented as a musician of consummate skill. In vocal and instrumental music he equally excelled. He played on no fewer than eight instruments; but was chiefly distinguished as a performer on the harp. If we may credit Bower, he touched its strings

[z] Schaw non quhat kynd of soundis musicall
Is maist semand to vailzeand cheueleris.
As thondrand blast of trumpat bellicall
The spritis of men to hardy curage steris,
So syngyng, fydlyng, and piping, not efferis
For men of honour nor of hye estate;
Becaus it spoutis swete venome in thair eris,
And makis thair myndis al effeminate.

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like another Orpheus[a]. For his musical qualifications, it must be remembered, he was indebted to an English education: but the force of his native genius enabled him to introduce many important improvements, and even to form a new æra in the history of the art.

Tassoni, in a passage frequently quoted, has characterized him as a composer of distinguished taste. Among us moderns, says this writer, may be classed James King of Scotland; who not only composed sacred music, but also invented a new species of plaintive melody, different from all others. In this he has been imitated by Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, who during our own age has embellished music with many admirable inventions[b].—This passage has generally been understood as signifying, that James's melody was imitated by the Prince of Venosa: but, as no similarity can be traced between Gesualdo's melodies and the national tunes of North Britain, it must only be received as implying that those two princes

[a] "Hic etenim in musica, non solùm in sono vocis, sed et in artis perfectione, quemadmodum in tympano et choro, in psalterio et organo, tibia et lyra, tuba et fistula, non inquam avide ad usum, sed ad summæ perfectionis magisterium, natura creatrix quædam vis et potentia divinitus humano generi insita, ultra humanam quodammodo æstimationem, ipsum vivaciter decoravit, præsertim in tactu citharæ, tanquam alterum Orpheum, principem et prælatum omnium citharœdorum citharizantium in citharis suis delectabiliter et dulciter illum prædotavit."

BOWER. Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 504.

[b] Tassoni, Pensieri Diversi, p. 664.

were equally cultivators and inventors of music[c]. That James the First is the Scotish king whom Tassoni has in view, is sufficiently evident; though an attempt has lately been made to deprive him of this honour. "The passage," says Mr Pinkerton, "has been understood to refer to James I. but it refers to James VI. in whose time Tassoni lived: when we say Louis King of France, it is *the present* we mean[d]." But it ought to have been recollected that when Tassoni composed his work, the latter of those monarchs was no longer styled King of Scotland, but of Great Britain. Nor is it to be supposed that James the Sixth even possessed any uncommon relish for music. Mr Pinkerton ought also to have considered the expression *in questa nostra eta:* for, if Tassoni speak of two princes who flourished during the same age, these words must be regarded as superfluous. Several of the Jameses were perhaps lovers of music; but there are no grounds for supposing that any of them, except the first, was capable of inventing a new species of plaintive melody[e].

[c] Burney's History of Music, vol. iii. p. 219.

[d] Pinkerton's Essay on the Origin of Scotish Poetry, p. lxviii.

[e] John Younge, in his account of Queen Margaret's journey to Scotland, seems to represent James the Fourth as a musician of considerable skill: "The kynge begonne before hyr to pleÿ of the clarycordes, and after of the lute; wiche pleasyd hyr varey much, and she had grett plaisur to here hym." (Leland. *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 284.)

Many anecdotes of Scotish music may be found in Hawkins's *History of Music*, vol. iv. p. 5. &c. Ritson's *Historical Essay on Scotish Song*, Tyt-

Such is the view which I have deemed it necessary to exhibit of the various accomplishments of a man on whom royalty itself could confer no additional splendour. On this subject I have dilated with considerable solicitude: I have been anxious that the ingratitude of his own age should not be imitated by ours; that a man who contributed to extend the circle of human enjoyment, should receive the appropriate reward of his virtues[f].

ler's *Dissertation on the Scottish Music*, and in Dalyell's *Desultory Reflections on the State of Ancient Scotland*, p. 54. &c. Some incidental observations on this subject also occur in Beattie's *Essay on Poetry and Music*, Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, and in Gregory's *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man*.

Hector Boyce mentions a famous Scotish musician named John Malison, whom Bishop Elphinston appointed to superintend the music of his cathedral: "Ad sacra rite exequenda in basilica Aberdonensi, creat designatorem Joannem Malisonum, musicâ disciplinâ eruditum, moribus probatum; penes quem (quos scribi et concinnari fecerat) libri forent rituales. Huic viro debent Aberdonenses, musicam præsertim edocti, quam parenti filii charitatem. Quicquid illic musices, quicquid exactæ in Dei ecclesia boreali jubilationis, hujus viri justissime debent operæ. Rarus enim conspicitur Aberdoniæ cantandi artem excellenter doctus, qui eo non fuerit usus præceptore." (*Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ*, f. xxiiii. a. Paris. 1522, 4to.)

[f] The patriotic exertions of King James are thus recapitulated by Dr John Johnston. (*Inscriptiones Historicæ Regum Scotorum*, p. 55. Amst. 1602, 4to.)

Dum captum hospitii violatis legibus Anglus
Detinet, ingenii nobilitavit opes;
Quas infert patriæ, patriamque his artibus ornat:
Oppida, sacra, scholas, constituitque forum.
Æbudas gentesque feras, populosque rebelles
Perdomat; inque Anglos concitus arma movet.
Marte potens, atque arte togæ rex magnus: et illum
Impia sic potuit contemerare manus?

THE

# LIFE

OF

# *HENRY THE MINSTREL.*

THE

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OF the personal history of Henry the Minstrel few memorials have been preserved; but these few it will be proper to collect with the utmost minuteness of industry.

Dempster has asserted that Henry, whose surname cannot now be discovered, was living in the year 1361[a]. Mair, whom Crawford supposes to have been born about the year 1446, informs us that during his infancy, this poet composed the metrical life of Wallace[b]. It follows therefore that Henry, if we even place his birth in 1361, was engaged in the composition of that work at the age of about eighty-five years. This may

[a] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 349.

[b] Major de Gestis Scotorum, p. 169. edit. Edinb. 1740, 4to.

however be regarded as somewhat improbable: and without temerity we may venture to reject the testimony of Dempster, a writer who flourished at a distant period, and whose assertions are too often rash and unfounded.

Mair has further remarked, that Henry was blind from his birth, and that he earned his subsistence by following the occupation of a minstrel: "During my infancy, Henry, a man blind from his birth, composed a book on the exploits of Sir William Wallace: collecting such accounts as were then preserved by popular tradition, he exhibited them in popular rhyme, which he had cultivated with success. Writings of this description however I only credit in part: for the author was one who, by the recitation of stories before the great, earned his food and raiment, of which he was worthy[c]."

It may perhaps be considered as probable that Henry belonged to some religious order. His education appears to have been comparatively liberal. He occasionally uses French words; and the chronicle of Blair, whence he professes to have derived his principal materials, was, as he has informed us, compiled in Latin. The know-

[c] "Integrum librum Guillelmi Wallacei Henricus, à nativitate luminibus captus, meæ infantiæ tempore cudit, et quæ vulgò dicebantur carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit (ego autem talibus scriptis solùm in parte fidem impertior): qui historiarum recitatione coram principibus, victum et vestitum, quo dignus erat, nactus est."

MAJOR de Gestis Scotorum, p. 169.

ledge of the Latin language was at that time almost exclusively confined to ecclesiastics. One passage of his poem may however seem to destroy the hypothesis:

> I can nocht spek of sic diuinitie;
> To clerks I will lat all sic mattirs be.

As he speaks of leaving this dispute to clerks, it follows that he was not of their number. But the word clerk, *clericus*, although it originally signified a clergyman, was also employed to denote a man of learning: and in this passage the poet may be understood as modestly referring to his own literary attainments.

That the canon law did not exclude a blind man from holy orders, appears from the biography of his countryman Robert Wauchope, Archbishop of Armagh. Wauchope had even taught theology to a numerous auditory in the University of Paris: and he was afterwards employed by Pope Paul the Third in several important legations[d]. That he was blind from his birth, has been affirmed by his cotemporaries Bishop Lesley and Sir James

d "Robertus Wacopius, apud Scotos in tenebris natus, clarum jubar solis totâ vitâ aspexit nunquam: in literis tamen tantùm promovit, ut Lutetiæ Parisiorum divinæ legis Doctor creatus, Romæ sacris admotus, in Hibernia majorem pontificatum sanctè administraret. Idem summi orbis Christiani præsidis imperio obiit legationes: consessum etiam Tridentinorum patrum, quamvis cæcus, non mediocriter illustravit. Sic habet sæculum hoc sua etiam in cæcis miracula."

MIRÆUS de Script. Ecclesiast. p. 266. apud Fabricium.

Melvil[e]: and although Cone asserts that he was only dim-sighted[f], yet his testimony seems entitled to little regard, as he has neglected to assign any reason for thus departing from a current opinion.

The supposition that Henry was at once a minstrel and a friar, implies nothing absurd. After the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, it is certain that some individuals acted in the double capacity of bards and priests. Donchad O'Daly, Abbot of Boyle, who flourished in the thirteenth century, is reported to have excelled in sacred poetry all the other bards of that period[g].

With regard to Henry's musical qualifications the historian is silent: but we may suppose that he either chanted his rhymes to the harp, or at least accompanied his recitations with a musical cadence.

Instead of thus persisting to amass conjectures, I shall now hasten to arrange such materials as I have been able to collect in relation to the history of the Scotish minstrels. As this excursion may tend to illustrate the character of Henry, it will

[e] Lesłæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum. p. 475.
Melvil's Memoires, p. 9. Lond. 1683, fol.

[f] Conæus de Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, p. 112. Romæ, 1628, 4to.

[g] Walker's Memoirs of the Irish Bards, p. 48.

hardly be considered as a digression: and as the reader is not here to expect any biographical narrative, he cannot with justice complain of interrupted attention.

It may perhaps be unnecessary to remark, that "the minstrels were an order of men in the middle ages, who subsisted by the arts of poetry and music, and sang to the harp verses composed by themselves or others. They also appear to have accompanied their songs with mimicry and action; and to have practised such various means of diverting as were much admired in those rude times, and supplied the want of more refined entertainment. These arts rendered them extremely popular and acceptable in this and all the neighbouring countries; where no high scene of festivity was esteemed complete, that was not set off with the exercise of their talents; and where, so long as the spirit of chivalry subsisted, they were protected and caressed, because their songs tended to do honour to the ruling passion of the times, and to encourage and foment a martial spirit[h]."

Bishop Percy has properly represented the minstrels as the genuine successors of those ancient bards who were once so conspicuous in almost every nation of Europe. The character of the minstrel appears to have been somewhat less dignified than that of the bard.

[h] Percy's Essay on the Ancient Minstrels, p. xxi.

Of the English minstrels many historical notices are preserved; but of their northern brethren very few anecdotes have been transmitted to our times. We may however conjecture that their progress was nearly the same in both countries.

In that collection of laws which is reported to have been promulgated by Kenneth the Second about the year 850, we find a remarkable clause referring to the order of bards or rather of minstrels: "Let them scourge vagabond minstrels addicted to idleness, buffoons, and other people of that description[i]." This statute is supposed to place the minstrels of Scotland in the lowest station[j]: and in order to evade such a conclusion, Salmasius and Warton propose, instead of *bardos*, to substitute *vargos*, a barbarous word signifying vagabonds. But the passage may with less violence be corrected. Instead of reading, with Boyce, "fugitivos, bardos," we ought undoubtedly to read, with Lesley, "fugitivos bardos[k]": and the law may then be understood as directed, not

[i] "Fugitivos bardos otio addictos, scurras, et hujusmodi hominum genus, loris et flagris cædunto."

BOETHII Scotorum Historia, f. 201. a.

"All vagaboundis, fulis, bardis, scudlaris, and all siclik pepill, salbe brint on the cheik, and scurgit with wandis, bot gif thay fynd sum craft to wyn thair leuyng."

BELLENDEN'S Hist. of Scotland, b. x. f. xliii. b.

[j] Warton's Dissertation on the Origin of Romantic Fiction.

[k] Leslæus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 72.

against the order of minstrels, but only against such individuals of that order as were not protected by great families, but led a loose and wandering life.

The genuineness of these laws is perhaps more than dubious. But if we should be inclined to regard them as spurious, it may at least be supposed that the compiler possessed some knowledge of the manners of the age to which they are referred.

Among the laws ascribed to Macbeth, who was slain in 1061, there are also certain regulations of the same description. It is enacted that minstrels and other idle vagrants shall be enjoined to betake themselves to some mechanical occupation; and that such as neglect to obey this mandate, shall be treated like beasts of burthen, and compelled to draw the plough or the cart. An exception is however made in favour of those who have received the royal licence to exercise their profession[1].

1 "Histriones, ludiones, *mimi*, et reliquum ociosorum nebulonum genus, nisi regis peculiari gratiâ ita permittantur, ad aliquod artificium agendum coguntor: quòd si recusent, nisi inepti ægritudine aut mutilatione fuerint, jumentorum more ad aratrum aut plaustrum trahendum adiguntor."

BOETHII Scotorum Historia, f. 251. a.

"Fulis, menstralis, bardis, and al othir sic ydil pepil, bot gif thay be specially licent be the kyng, salbe compellit to seik sum craft to wyn thair leuyng. Gif thay refuse, yai salbe drawin lik hors in ye pluch and harrowis."

BELLENDEN's Hist. of Scotland, b. xii. f. lxxiiii. a.

This law, if such a law was ever in force, must not be considered as a satisfactory proof, that during the eleventh century the Scotish minstrels were ranked with the meanest of vagrants. It seems only to inculcate the maxim, which we also trace in the statute of Kenneth, that this order ought to be controlled by certain regulations, lest the allurements of such a mode of life should deprive society of too great a number of active members. Such restrictions might be absolutely requisite. In Ireland the order of bards was at one time so numerous, that it is said to have included one third of the national population[m].

After another long interval we again trace their vestiges. When, during the minority of David the Second, Randolph Earl of Murray imposed a restraint on strollers of various descriptions, he wisely exempted the minstrels, as the importance of their services had often been experienced in the national wars[n].—Henry has represented minstrels as attending the army of his hero; and it is worthy of remark that they seem to be placed on a level with the heralds[o]:

[m] Brown's History of Poetry, p. 211.

[n] "Histriones ergo, ac in summa omnes qui ignaviâ torpentes ludicris artibus victum sibi comparabant, diligenter quæsitos, ad supplicium pertraxit: in quos cùm multi quosdam è fidibus, lyra, cithara, ac id genus instrumentis musicis vitam propagantes referri vellent, sapienter impunitatem illis proponendam esse asserit, quòd illorum opera in bellis usui maxime sæpenumero fuerit."

LESLÆUS de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 238.

[o] A passage in the heraldic collections of Sir David Lindsay is also

Wa was ye queyn hyr trawaill helpyt nocht:
Ye gold sche tuk yat yai had with hyr brocht,
Onto ye ost rycht frely sche it gaiff,
Till euir ilk man yat lykit for till haiff:
To menstraillis, harrolds, sche delt haboundandle,
Besekand yaim hyr freynd at yai wald be[P].

Mr Pinkerton, without any precise reference to ancient authorities, has affirmed that in 1474 minstrels were classed with knights and heralds, and authorized to wear silken apparel. The above passage may tend to corroborate this assertion. The distinction however which the learned writer has endeavoured to establish between minstrels and bards, I am inclined to regard as somewhat arbitrary. The Scotish *minstrels*, he observes, "were first in the highest reverence; the superior ones reciting to the great and polite their own compositions or those of other poets in the French language, till about the fourteenth century, when they began to use the common tongue; while the inferior order called *bards* entertained others. But in time a gradual change of

worthy of consideration: "It is to understand, yat na *menstrale* sall weir his lord or princis armes as ane herrald dois. Bot he sall beir it ewin on ye middis of his breist, and with ane round circle about ye scheild, qlkis is callit ane besigell in armes; and yat is ye difference betuix offirris of armes and menstrallis, quhairby yai sall be knawin. Except alanerlie trumpettis, qlk is callit ye bell of armes; and he sall haue na besigell about ye scheild, bot ane litill fassone of ane trumpet hingand at ye neyr newk of ane scheild, quhairby he sal be knawin be vyer menstrellis." (*Collectanea D. Dauidis Lindesay:* MS.)

[P] Henry's Wallace, vol. ii. p. 94.

the manners of chivalry brought neglect and contempt on the bards, and after on the minstrels[q]."

From a review of the scanty documents which can now be collected, I am persuaded that these terms were generally applied in a very indefinite manner[r]. That the bards, whatever meaning the word may have conveyed, were sometimes viewed in a contemptible light, is sufficiently evinced by an act of parliament promulgated in the year 1457[s]. Sir David Lindsay also places beggars and bards on the same footing. But it is equally certain that when our ancestors speak of minstrels, we are often to understand

[q] Pinkerton's Essay on the Origin of Scotish Poetry, p. lxxiii.

[r] "The word minstrel is of an extensive signification, and is applied as a general term to every character of that species of men whose business it was to entertain, either with oral recitation, music, gesticulation, and singing, or with a mixture of all these arts united."

WARTON'S Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 302.

[s] "The Lords thinkis speedefull, that in all justice-aires, the Kingis Justice gar take inquisition of sornares, bairdes, maisterfull beggers, or feinzied fuiles; and outher banish them the cuntrie, or send them to the Kingis prison."

SKENE'S Actes of Parliament, f. 44. a.

Dr Ninian Winzet uses *bard* as a term of reproach: "This I wryte, for sa mekle as sum blasphemous *bairdis*, conuict in conscience be the inuincible treuth in this litle buke, wald draw ye cunning auctour thairof in a contempt, and lichtlie be thare iesting, tanting, and rayling." (*Vincentius Lirinensis*, sig. I 3. b. Antwerp, 1563, 8vo.) The word is also used in the same sense by Principal Baillie, a much later writer: "The rest of that day, and much also of posterior sessions, were mispent with the altercations of that *bardish* man Mr D. Dogleish and the young constable of Dundee." (Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 311.)

common musicians. The harper who officiates at the rustic dance of *Christis Kirk of the Grene*, seems not entitled to knightly honours:

Tam Lutar wes thair *menstral* meit:
O Lord as he could lanss!
He playit sa schill, and sang sa sweit,
Quihile Tousy tuke a transs.

When the honourable burgesses of Aberdeen visited Edinburgh in order to mingle in the festivities which prevailed at the time when James the Fourth espoused the Lady Margaret, they presented ten pounds in Scotish currency to the common minstrels who attended their progress[t]. These minstrels may have been somewhat elevated above the rank of modern fidlers.

Mr Pinkerton supposes that the minstrels, notwithstanding the honourable station which they once occupied, had sunk into contempt so early as the reign of James the Fifth. In proof of this assertion he produces the following passage of Dunbar:

I will næ leisings put in verse,
Lyke as sum *janglers* do reherse.

The Scotish word *jangler* may perhaps be legitimately descended from the French *jongleur;* but I have never in any instance found it employed

[t] Chalmers, Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare-Papers, p. 617.

to denote a minstrel. In the above passage it may signify a foolish prater. Henryson seems to use it in the same sense:

Makyne, the nicht is soft and dry,
The wedder is warme and fair,
And the grene wood ryght neir us by
To walk attour all quhair:
Thair ma na *janglour* us espy
That is to lufe contrair.

Instead of representing the character of the minstrels as contemptible, Dunbar has very skilfully availed himself of an opportunity of advancing their reputation. At *The Daunce* exhibited before Satan, he is careful to inform us that no minstrel attended:

Na menstralls playit to thame but dowt,
For gle-men thair wer haldin out
Be day and eik by nycht;
Except a menstrall that slew a man:
Sa till his heretage he wan,
And entirt be brief of richt.

The precise period when the order of minstrels became extinct in Scotland, I am unable to ascertain; but this event may with sufficient probability be referred to the æra of the Reformation. A change in the national manners was the necessary result of so violent a change in the national religion. Buchanan informs us that during his own times the order of bards was still

revered among the Celtic tribes[u]; but with regard to the existence of minstrels in the Lowlands he is profoundly silent. At a later period however some slight vestiges of the ancient profession were still visible; though it had then dwindled into a state too insignificant to merit much attention from the literary historian. "To our fathers time and ours," says George Martine, "something remained, and still does, of this ancient order. And they are called by others, and by themselves, *jockies*; who go about begging, and use still to recite the sluggornes of most of the true ancient surnames of Scotland from old experience and observation. Some of them I have discoursed, and found to have reason and discretion. One of them told me there were not now twelve of them in the whole isle; but he remembered when they abounded, so as at one time he was one of five that usuallie met at St Andrews[v]." Martine wrote so lately as the year 1683.

[u] "Horum et functio et nomen adhuc perseverat apud omnes nationes quæ vetere Britannorum linguâ utuntur: tantusque eis honos multis in locis habetur, ut et ipsi sacrosancti, et eorum domus pro asylo sint; et inter infestissimos hostes, ubi crudelissime et bellum geritur et victoria exercetur, perpetua sit eis eorumque comitibus ultro citroque commeandi potestas. Nobiles eos ad se ventitantes, et honorifice suscipiunt, et munifice dimittunt. Carmina autem non inculta fundunt quæ rhapsodi proceribus, aut vulgo audiendi cupido, recitant, aut ad musicos organorum modos canunt."

BUCHANAN. Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 32.

[v] Martine's State of the See of St Andrews, p. 3. St Andr. 1797, 4to.—Colvil, who wrote at an earlier period than Martine, has men-

Dr Blackwell has remarked, that the wandering life of a bard is of all others the most favourable to the acquisition of poetical sentiments. "It is exactly the easy independent state that is unawed by laws, and the regards that molest us in communities; that knows no duties or obligations but those of hospitality and humanity; that subjects the mind to no tincture of discipline, but lays it open to all the natural sensations with which the various parts of the universe affect a sagacious, perceptive, mimicking creature[w]." However accurate these observations may be, it is obvious that Henry's unfortunate situation precluded him from many of the advantages incident to his mode of life. His heroic poem, entitled *Ye Actis and Deidis of ye Illuster and Vailzeand Campioun, Shyr Wilham Wallace*, if we consider it as the production of a man blind from his birth, cannot fail of ranking him among the most remarkable characters commemorated in the annals of literature. Faults it undoubtedly exhibits, and those of no trivial

tioned the order of minstrels in contemptuous terms: "Cùm puer essem audiveram balathrones ceraulas nomine Thomæ Rythmici fatidici numerare quædam carmina trivialia." (Johannis Colvilli *Oratio Funebris Exequiis Elizabethæ nuperæ Angliæ Reginæ destinata*, p. 24. Paris. 1604, 8vo). The passage may be thus translated: "When I was a boy I had heard the beggarly *jockies* recite certain homely verses ascribed to Thomas the Rhymer, a reputed prophet." Colvil terms them *ceraulæ*, because they were accustomed to recite "the sluggornes of the true ancient surnames of Scotland."

[w] Blackwell's Life of Homer, p. 116.

magnitude: but ample room is still left for admiration. By his operose and grand work, says Dempster, he has enriched his native language with a strain of poetry superior to the age, and has even merited the appellation of a second Homer. Warton and Ellis, without bestowing such hyperbolical praise, have also allowed him to have possest a rare felicity of genius [x]. "That a man *born* blind," says Mr Ellis, "should excel in any science, is sufficiently extraordinary, though by no means without example; but that he should become an excellent poet, is almost miraculous; because the soul of poetry is description. Perhaps therefore it may be safely assumed, that Henry was not inferior, in point of genius, either to Barber or Chaucer; nor indeed to any poet of any age or country: but it is our present business to estimate the merit of the work, rather than the genius of the author.

"The similarity of the subject will naturally induce every reader to compare the life of Wallace with Barber's life of Bruce; and, on such a comparison, it will probably be found, that Henry excels his competitor in correctness of versification, and perhaps in perspicuity of language (for both of which he was indebted to the gradual improvements which had taken place during near

[x] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 318.

a century); but that in every other particular he is greatly inferior to his predecessor [y]."

Of eminent poets who at an advanced stage of life have by various accidents been deprived of sight, the catalogue is extensive [z]; but few poets blind from their infancy have ever been distinguished by the intrinsic merit of their compositions. Another illustrious example however occurs in the case of the late Dr Blacklock; who lost his sight at the age of five months. The series of conjectures which Mr Spence has proposed in relation to that poet's capability of producing animated descriptions of external nature, will hardly be regarded as very satisfactory or important. When such a faculty is discovered in a man blind from early infancy, it must undoubtedly be imputed to his retention of the descriptive language employed by other writers.

The following is Henry's description of morning:

> Ye mery day, sprang fra ye oryent,
> With bemys brycht enlumynyt ye occident.
> After Titan Phebus, uprysyt fayr,
> Heich in ye sper ye signes maid declayr,

[y] Ellis, Hist. Sketch of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 349.

[z] John Passerat, Professor of Eloquence in the University of Paris, continued his academical prelections after he had been deprived of sight. On his first appearance after he had experienced this calamity, he delivered an oration on blindness, in which he consoles himself in a somewhat ludicrous manner. (Passeratii *De Cacitate Oratio*. Lutetiæ, 1597, 8vo.)

Zephyrus began hys morow courss;
Ye swete wapour yus fra ye ground resourss,
Ye humyll breyth down fra ye hewen awaill
In euery meide, bathe fyrth, forrest, and daill.
Ye cler rede amang ye rochis rang
Throuch greyn branchis, quhar byrds blythly sang
With joyus wois in hewynly armony.

Such strokes of description as this passage contains must have been produced by recollecting the terms which former poets had applied to similar subjects: but it cannot be supposed that some of these terms conveyed the same meaning to Henry as they do to his readers. To the words *bright* and *green* he could not possibly attach any definite signification. With regard to colours, his associations, like those of Dr Blacklock [a], must have been chiefly of the moral kind.

His description of Wallace's rencounter with the ghost of Fawdon is highly picturesque:

Quhen yat allayne Wallace was lewyt yar,
Ye awfull blast aboundyt mekill mar;
Yan trewit he weille yai had hys lugyng seyne:
Hys suerd he drew of nobill mettall keyne,
Syne furth he went quhar at he hard ye horn:
Without ye dur Fawdoun was hym beforn,
As till hys sycht, hys awne hede in hys hand:
A croyss he maid quhen he saw hym so stand,
At Wallace in ye hede he swaket yar;
And he in haist sone hynt it by ye hair,

[a] H. Mackenzie's Life of Blacklock, p. xix.

Syne out at hym agayne he couth it cast.
Intill hys hart he was gretlye agast:
Rycht weill he trowit yat was na spreit of man,
It was sum dewill at sic malice began.
He wyst na weill yar langar for to byde.
Up throw ye hall yus wycht Wallace can glyde
To a closs stayr, the burds raiff in twyne,
Fyftyne fute large he lap out of yat inn.
Up ye wattir sedeynlye he couth fair:
Agayne he blent quhat 'perance he saw yair.
He thocht he saw Fawdoune, yat ugly syr;
Yat haill hall he had sett in a fyr:
A gret raftre he had intill hys hand.

The death of *good* Sir John Graham, and the consequent retreat of Wallace, are thus described:

Ye worthi Scottis weryt fer on bak
Sewyn akyr breid, in turnyng off yair bak:
Zeit Wallace has yir twa delyueryt weill
Be hys awn strenth and his awn suerd off steill.
Ye awfull Bruce amang yaim with gret mayn
At ye reskew thre Scottsmen has he slayn:
Quham he hyt rycht, ay at a straik was ded:
Wallace preyst in yarfor to set rameid.
With a gud sper ye Bruce was serwyt but baid;
With gret inwy to Wallace fast he raid,
And he till hym, assonzeit nocht for yi.
Ye Bruce hym myssyt as Wallace passit by:
Awkwart he sraik with hys scharp groundyn glaive,
Sper and horss crag intill sondyr he draive.
Bruce was at erd or Wallace turned about.
Ye grett battaill off thousands stern and stout

Yai horssyt Bruce with men off gret walour.
Wallace allane was in yat stalwart stour.
Grayme pressyt in and struik ane Inglis knycht
Befor ye Bruce apon ye basnett brycht;
Yat freualt stuff and all his oyir weid,
Bathe bayn and brayn ye nobill suerd throch zeid.
Ye knyght was dede: gud Grayme retornyt tyte.
A suttell knycht yarat had gret dispyt,
Followyt at wait, and has persawit weill
Graymes byrny was to narow sum deill
Be neth ye waist, yat closs it mycht not be:
On ye fyllat full sternly straik yat fle,
Persyt ye bak, in ye bowalys hym bar
With a scharp sper, yat he mycht leiff no mar.
Grayme turnyt yarwith, and smat that knycht in teyn
Towart ye wesar, a litill beneth ye eyn.
Dede off yat dynt, to ground he duschyt doun:
Schyr Jhon ye Grayme yan swounyt on hys arsoune.
Or he ourcom till pass till hys party,
Feill Sothroune men yat was on fute hym by
Stekyt hys horss, yat he no furyir zeid:
Grayme zauld to God hys gud spreit and hys dreid.
Quhen Wallace saw yis knycht to dede was wrocht,
Ye pytuouss payn so sar thryllyt hys thocht,
All out off kynd it alteryt his curage,
Hys wyt in wer was yan bot a wode rage.
Hys horss hym bur in feild quhar so hym lyst,
For off hymselff as yan litill he wyst:
Lyk a wyld best yat war fra resone rent,
As witlaccly into ye ost he went;
Dingand on hard, quhat Sothroune he rycht hyt,
Straucht apon horss agayn mycht neuir syt.
Into yat rage full feill folk he dang doun;
All hym about was reddyt a gret rowm.
Quhen Bruce persawyt with Wallace it stud sa,
He chargyt men lang sperys for to ta,

And sla hys horss, sa he suld nocht eschaip.
Feill Sothroune yan to Wallace fast can schaip,
Persyt hys horss with sperys on ayir syd,
Woundyss yai maid yat was bathe deip and wyd.
Off schafftis part Wallace in sondyr schayr,
Bot fell hedys in till hys horss left yair.
Sum wytt agayn to Wallace can radoun;
In hys awn mynd so rewllyt hym resoun,
Sa for to de hym thocht it na waslage:
Yan for to fle he tuk na taryage;
Spuryt ye horss, quhilk ran in a gud randoun
Till hys awn folk, was bydand at Carroun.
Ye sey was in, at yai stoppyt and stud;
On loud he cryt and bad yaim tak ye flud:
Togyddyr byd, ze may nocht loss a man.
At hys commaund ye wattir yai tuk yan.
Hym returned, ye entre for to kepe,
Quhill all hys ost was passit our ye depe;
Syn passit our, and dred hys horss suld faill;
Hymselff hewy cled into plait off maill,
Let he couth swom, he trowit he mycht nocht weill:
Ye cler wattir culyt ye horss sum deill;
Atour ye flud he bur hym to ye land,
Syne fell doun dede, and mycht na langar stand.

Henry is the most ancient Scotish poet who has presented us with a specimen of the heroic couplet; a species of versification which Chaucer had cultivated with such eminent success,

He appears to have been less ambitious of being considered as a great poet, than as a faithful recorder of the exploits of that renowned warrior whose history he has undertaken to delineate. As a historian however he is rarely mentioned. The

many inaccurate statements which occur in his work, may from various considerations be readily pardoned: and in Lord Hailes they have perhaps excited an unnecessary degree of indignation. "A few examples," he observes, "may serve to prove the spirit of this romancer. He always speaks of Aymer de Valloins, Earl of Pembroke, as a false Scottish knight. He mentions Sir Richard Lundin as one of Wallace's coadjutors at the battle of Stirling; whereas he was of the opposite party; and indeed was, to all appearance, the only man of judgment in the whole English army: B. 6. c. 4. he says that one Sir Hugh, sister's son of Edward I. went in the disguise of a herald to Wallace's camp, was detected and instantly beheaded; that Wallace surprized Edward's army at Biggar, and with his own hand slew the Earl of Kent; that many thousands of the English fell in the engagement, particularly the second son of the King of England, his brother Sir Hugh, and his two nephews [b]." A more glaring inaccuracy might however have been detected: Henry asserts that Sir John Graham was knighted by Alexander the Fierce; whereas it is evident that the one was not born till about a hundred and fifty years after the death of the other. But when we recollect his own situation, and the state of learn-

[b] Hailes, Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 269.

ing during that age, we cannot but be disposed to treat his errors with lenity.

The source whence he professes to have derived the most valuable of his materials, is a Latin chronicle chiefly compiled by John Blair, one of the faithful companions of Wallace. Blair's chronicle, as well as the work which he is said to have composed *De Liberata Tyrannide Scotiæ*, is no longer to be found. Of the fidelity of Henry's transcriptions we are therefore unable to judge.

Sir Robert Sibbald, together with other tracts of the same argument[d], published a meagre chronicle under the title of *Relationes quædam* ARNALDI BLAIR, *Monachi de Dumfermelen, et Capellani D. Willielmi Wallas, Militis.* It has been supposed that this is the very work to which Henry so frequently refers. After the death of Wallace, it is conjectured, John Blair retired to the abbey of Dunfermline, and, having changed his name, devoted himself to the monastic life[e]. These notions are certainly within the bounds of probability: but the relations ascribed to Arnald Blair merely consist of indigested transcripts from the *Scotichronicon*.

[c] Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 86.

[d] De Gestis Guilielmi Wallas, Militis, Collectanea Varia. Edinb. 1705, 8vo.—The work which bears the name of Arnald Blair, together with Sir Robert Sibbald's commentary, may also be found in the edition of Henry's poem published at Edinburgh in the year 1758.

[e] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. i. p. 264.

Another authority quoted by Henry is Con's chronicle; a production which I have never found mentioned by any other writer. It may have been a historical poem on the exploits of Wallace: for it is certain that "gret *gestis* of his gud dedis"[f] had been composed so early as the time of Winton; and Cone seems to insinuate that the story of this hero had frequently exercised the ingenuity of the Scotish writers[g].

His valour has also been celebrated at a more recent period[h]. Dr Patrick Panther, Professor of Divinity in the University of St Andrews, published a Latin poem on this subject in the year 1633[i]: and Sir Robert Sibbald's collection includes another poem written by some anonymous

[f] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 102.

[g] "Miranda plane sunt quæ de hoc viro traduntur: cujus gesta justis voluminibus nostrates descripserunt."

Conæus de Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, p. 70.

[h] Wallace's eulogium has been pronounced by Boyce in the following sententious manner: "Hunc finem habuit vir clarissimus, ac solus eâ tempestate liber, cum omnes reliqui turpissime Anglo sese ac patriam in servitutem dedidissent." (*Scotorum Historia*, f. 299. a.)

[i] Panteri Valliados libris tribus opus inchoatum. Edinb. 1633, 8vo.—These three books are inserted in Sibbald's *Collectanea*. The author's poetical talents are mentioned by Principal Baillie in terms of admiration: "The next was Dr Panther, Professor of St Andrews. I never saw the man, but his *Valliados* makes me love him as one of the best poets I know now living. The man has a bonny spirit, some things in all faculties; but St Andrews was far in the wrong to advance him to a divinity-profession before he had well learned the grounds of that profession or science. He was never diligent; but he had no sooner settled himself in his charge till he began to recommend the English method of study, to begin with the Popish schoolmen and fathers, and to close with Protes-

author[j]. Henry's production has been abridged and modernized by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield. It is not indeed surprizing that a man who exhibited so perfect an example of heroic virtue, should thus become an object of general regard: had he been disappointed of his fame, his countrymen might have been justly charged with unparalleled ingratitude. Henry appears to have viewed him with a degree of reverence bordering on idolatry: he endows him with supernatural strength, and even hails him as the "gracious God" of Scotland!

He seems to have been persuaded that the splendour of his subject would preserve his work from oblivion:

> Go, nobill buk, fullfillyt of gud sentens,
> Supposs yow be baran off eloquence:
> Go worthi buk, fullfillyt of suthfast deid;
> Bot in langage off help yow has gret neid.
> Quhen gud makars rang weill into Scotland,
> Gret harm was it yat nane off yaim ze fand.
> *Zeit* yar is part yat can ze weill awance.
> Now byd yi tym, and be a remembrance.

tant Neotericks; a most unhappy and dangerous order! I hear, in his publick notes he has deviated to the Popish justification, and in his discourses to the grossest Pelagianism in original sin." (Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 123.)

j This is probably the poem mentioned by Bishop Nicolson: "A Western schoolmaster has completed a Latin poem of six books, to which he has likewise given the name of *Valliados*; but these, falling short of the other's spirit, have never yet been printed." (Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 250. Lond. 1702, 8vo.)

I yow besek, off your beneuolence,
Quha will nocht low, lak nocht my eloquence:
It is weill knawin I am a rural man;
For her is said as gudly as I can.

The numerous editions of Henry's poem evince its popularity[k]. The latest and most elegant edition was published at Perth in 1790 in three volumes duodecimo: its orthography is professedly the same as that of the ancient MS. preserved in the Advocates Library; but the transcript seems to have been executed with no very high degree of fidelity.

[k] The more early editions have been enumerated by Mr Pinkerton. The first which he has discovered was printed by Robert Lekprevik at the expence of Henry Charters, Edinb. 1570, 4to. b. l. "Other editions are 1594, Edinb. 4to.—1601, Edinb.—1620, Edinb.—1630, Aberdeen, 8vo.—1665, Glasgow, 8vo.—1673, Edinb. 12mo. all in black letter." (*List of the Scotish Poets*, p. xci.) There are many editions of a more recent date.

# *INTERMEDIATE SKETCHES.*

To the beginning of the fifteenth century we may venture to refer an anonymous production entitled *The Battle of Harlaw.* The event on which it is founded happened in the year 1411; and it may safely be concluded that the poem was written soon afterwards. Compositions which aim at popularity, and which at the same time are founded on incidents of no superior importance, will seldom be found indebted for their subjects to a remote period of history. Ramsay has inserted this poem in *The Ever-Green*; but a more genuine copy might be discovered. Its value as a composition is not however so considerable as to prompt a very anxious search.

Buchanan informs us that an elegiac poem which had been written on the death of the eldest daughter of James the First, was translated from the French into the Scotish language[a]. It may

[a] Buchanan. Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 195. edit. Ruddiman.

be conjectured that this version is still extant. "In the work called Bishop Elphingston's History, in the Bodleian Library, there are," says Mr Pinkerton, "two Scotish poems at the end of the reign of James I. which closes the volume. One is entitled *Lamentatio Delphini Franciæ pro Morte Uxoris*, [1445.] The other a moral piece on government, "Richt as all stringis ar cupillit in ane harpe, &c.[b]" The former of these is probably the translation mentioned by Buchanan.

THE metrical romance of *Gawan and Gologras* was published at Edinburgh in the year 1508; but it was probably composed as early at least as the middle of the fifteenth century. This production has lately been reprinted among the *Scotish Poems* edited by Mr Pinkerton; who has likewise published another of the same description, entitled *Sir Gawan and Sir Galaron of Galloway*. These curious reliques are evidently compositions of the same author; but the latter, having been transcribed by some Englishman, exhibits fainter traces of its northern origin. The author is supposed to be specified in the *Lament* of Dunbar:

> Clerk of Tranent eik he hes tane,
> That made the aventers of Sir Gawane.

[b] Pinkerton's Scotish Poems, vol. i. p. xxxvi.

It must be recollected however, that Sir Gawain, the nephew of King Arthur, and one of the Paladins, was enrolled among the most celebrated heroes of romance; and that his exploits might attract the attention of various Scotish poets. On this subject many English ballads and romances were composed. *The Weddynge of Sir Gawain*, beginning "Be ye blythe and listeneth to the lyf of a lorde riche," occurs among Tanner's MSS. at Oxford[c]. *The Marriage of Sir Gawaine*, beginning "King Arthur lives in merry Carleil," has been published by Bishop Percy; who supposes it to have furnished Chaucer with his *Wif of Bath*. Bishop Percy mentions other three romances in celebration of the same hero[d]. Winton commemorates Hucheone, a Scotish poet

> That cunnand was in literature:
> He maid a gret gest of Arthure,
> And the awenturis of Gawane,
> And the 'pistill als of sueit Susane.

This poet may be the Sir Hugh of Eglintoun mentioned by Dunbar: for Hucheon, as we learn from Nisbet, was the ancient Scotish pronunciation of Hugh. Hutcheon however is a Scotish surname. It is therefore uncertain whether these

[c] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 208.

[d] Percy's Essay on the Ancient Metrical Romances, p. xxxvii.

two romances are the compositions of Clerk, Eglintoun, or of some other poet.

The stanza in which they are written is of a remarkable structure; and the style is rendered uncouth and almost unintelligible by a constant straining after alliteration. They are not however devoid of poetical beauty: the imagery and descriptions are often wild and striking.

The following extract from *Gawan and Gologras* cannot fail to delight the poetical antiquary:

The king crounit with gold this cumpas wel knew,
And callit Schir Raunald, cruell and kene:
" Gif ony pressis to this place, for proues to persew,
Schaip thé evin to the schalk in thi schroud schene."
The deir dight him to the deid be the day dew;
His birny and his basnet burnist full bene:
Baith his horse and his geir was of ane hale hew,
With gold and goulis sa gay, graithit in grene:
Ane schene scheild and ane schaft that scharply was sched;
Thre berhedis he bair,
As his eldaris did air,
Quhilk beirnis in Britane wair
Of his blude bled.

Quhen the day can daw deirly on hight,
And the sone in the sky wes schynyng so schir,
Fra the castell thair come cariand ane knight
Closit in clene steill, upone ane coursyr.
Schir Rannald to his riche steid raikit full riht,
Lighly lap he on loft, that lufly of lyre.
Athir laught has thair lance, that lemyt so light:
On twa stedis thai straid with ane sterne schiere:

Togiddir freschly thai frekis fruschit in fay ;
Thair speris in splendris sprent,
On scheldis schenkit and schent,
Evin our thair hedis went
In feild fir away.

Thai lufly ledis belife lightit on the land,
And laught out swerdis lufly and lang :
Thair stedis stakkerit in the stour and stude stummerand
Al to stiffillit and stonayt, the strakis war sa strang.
Athir berne braithly bet with ane bright brand.
On fute freschly thai frekis feightin thai fang :
Thai hewit on hard steil hartly with hand,
Quhil the spalis and the sparkis spedely out sprang.
Schir Rannald raught to the renk ane rout wes unryde
Clenely in the collair ;
Fifty mailycis and mair
Evin of the schuldir he schair,
Ane wound that wes wyde.

Thus thai faucht on fute on the fair feild :
The blude fannyt thame fra on feild quhare thai found
All the bernys on the bent, about that beheild,
For pure sorow of that sight thai sighit unsound.
Schire teris schot fra schaikis schere under scheild
Quhen thai foundrit ane fel fey on the grund.
Baith thair hartis can brist braithly but beild :
Thair wes na stalvart unstonait, so sterne was the stound.
Schir Rannaldis body wes broght to the bright tent :
Syne to the castel of stone
Thai had Schir Rigal of Rone ;
With mekil murnyng and mone,
Away with him went.

HOLLAND's *Houlate*, another uncouth poem in the same stanza, appears from internal evidence to have been written between the year 1450 and the year 1455[e]. It is a kind of moral fable illustrative of the danger of pride, but conducted with a very slight degree of poetical skill. The plan neither possesses the charm of novelty, nor is recommended by propriety of execution. This production will however be viewed as a curious specimen of our ancient poetry. One passage is remarkable, as containing a prediction of the accession of James the Sixth to the crown of England:

Our souerane in Scotlandis armes to knaw:—
Quhilk sal be lord and ledar
Of bred Britane all quhair,
As Sanct Margaretis air,
And the fryme shaw[f].

Sir James Melvil has recorded a prediction of the same kind: "This puts me in remembrance of a tale that my brother Sir Robert told me, the time that he was busy dealing between the two queens to entertain their friendship and draw on their meeting at a place near York. One Bassintoun[g],

[e] See Lord Hailes's *Ancient Scottish Poems*, p. 271. and Mr Pinkerton's *Scotish Poems*, vol. i. p. xxix.

[f] Holland's *Houlate* occurs in the appendix to Mr Pinkerton's *Scotish Poems, reprinted from Scarce Editions*. Lond. 1792, 3 vols. 8vo.

[g] James Bassinton, or Bassantin, is said to have been one of the greatest astronomers of the age in which he flourished. He was born, says

a Scots-man who had been a traveller, and was learned in high sciences, came to him and said, Good gentleman, I hear so good a report of you, that I love you heartily, and therefore cannot forbear to shew you how that all your upright dealing and honest travel will be in vain: For whereas you believe to obtain advantage for your queen at the Queen of England's hands, you do but lose your time and your travel: For, first, they will never meet together, and, next, there will never be any thing else but dissembling and secret hatred for a while, and at length captivity and utter wrack to our queen from England. My brother answered, he liked not to hear of such devilish views, nor yet would he in any sort credit them, as being false, ungodly, and unlawful for Christians to meddle with. Bassingtoun answered, Good Mr Melvil, entertain not that harsh opinion of me. I am a Christian of your own religion, and fear God, purposeth never to cast myself on any of the unlawful arts that you mean, but so far as Melanchthon, who was a godly theologue, hath declared lawful, and written concerning the natural sciences which are lawful and daily read in divers Christian universities; in

Dr Mackenzie, in the reign of James the Fourth, and received his academical education in the University of Glasgow. He afterwards travelled through various countries of Europe; and for several years taught the mathematics at Paris. He returned to Scotland in 1562, and died there in 1568. (Mackenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*, vol. iii. p. 81.)

which, as in all other arts, God gives to some less and to others clearer knowledge: by the which knowledge, I have attained to understand, that at length the kingdom of England shall of right fall to the crown of Scotland, and that this instant there are some born who shall brook lands and heritages in England: But, alas, it will cost many their lives; and many bloody battles will be fought e're things be settled or take effect; and by my knowledge, says he, the Spaniards will be helpers, and will take a part to themselves for their labour, which they will be loath to leave again[h]." These wonderful predictions the intelligent reader will not hesitate in referring to their proper classes.

Holland, it may be conjectured, was once a poet of some eminence. He is mentioned by Dunbar and Lindsay. He seems to represent himself as a retainer of Archbald Douglas, Earl of Murray.

FROM an edition which appeared at Edinburgh in 1603, Mr Pinkerton has also republished an anonymous production entitled *The Thrie Tailes of the Thrie Priests of Peblis*. These tales have with apparent propriety been referred to the reign of James the Third: many of the allusions are completely applicable to the conduct of that

[h] Melvil's Memoires, p. 92.

deluded prince. King James, it will be necessary to recollect, was slain in the year 1488: and the style of the poem does not seem of a more modern cast.

The three priests of Peebles, having met on St Bride's day for the purpose of regaling themselves, agree that each in his turn shall endeavour to entertain the rest by relating some story. They acquit themselves with sufficient propriety. The tales are of a moral tendency, but at the same time are free from the dulness which so frequently infests the preceptive compositions of our earlier poets. The versification, as the subsequent specimen may perhaps evince, is by no means contemptible.

This officer but dout is callit Deïd:
Is nane his power agane may repleid;
Is nane sa wicht, na wyse, na of sik wit,
Agane his summond suithly that may sit.
Suppose 'thow' be als wicht as ony wall,
Thow man ga with him to his 'Lordis' hall,
Is na wisdome, riches na yit science,
Agani this officer may mak defence;
Is neyther castell, torret, nor yit tour,
May scar him anis the moment of ane hour,
His straik it is sa sharpe, it will not stint;
Is nane in eird that may indure his dint:
He is sa trew in his office and lele,
Is na praktik agane him to appele:
Gold nor gude, corn, cattell, nor yit ky,
This officer with bud may nocht o'erby,

THE

# LIFE

OF

# *ROBERT HENRYSON.*

THE

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# *ROBERT HENRYSON.*

THE literary merit of Henryson amply entitles him to a place in this biographical series; but the inattention of our early writers has permitted his personal history to sink into that state of oblivion from which it cannot now be recalled. Although the grateful curiosity of posterity may induce them to explore every avenue which promises to terminate in the desired information, yet the research, however laborious, will only be productive of unavailing regret.

The time and the place of his birth are alike unknown. Mr Urry styles him chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline[a]; and Lord Hailes conjectures that he officiated as preceptor in the

[a] Urry's Chaucer, p. 333.

Benedictine convent[b]. From the former of those writers we also learn that he flourished during the reign of Henry the Eighth. He reached an advanced period of life; as appears from a passage of his *Testament of Faire Cresseide:*

> Though love be hote, yet in a man of age
> It kindlith nat so sone as in youthed, &c.

That he died before Dunbar, appears from the following couplet of that celebrated poet's *Lament for the Deth of the Makkaris:*

> In Dumfermling 'Deth' hes tane Broun,
> With gude Mr Robert Henrysoun.

As an admirer of his poetry, I hope the epithet *good* was not applied at random[c].

In Bagford's manuscript collections relative to typography, it is stated that Henryson's *Fabils* were printed at Edinburgh by Andrew Hart in the year 1621. They are also preserved in the Harleyan Library. "The Harleian MS," says Mr Pinkerton, "is dated 1571, being collected near a century after Henrysoun's death by some admirer of his fables. It is well written, and pre-

[b] Hailes, Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 273.

[c] Relative to Henryson, the reader may find abundance of conjectures in Mr Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. i. p. 88. &c.

served; and has some curious illuminations, tho poorly done[d]". Henryson's *Fabils* likewise occupy a place in Bannatyne's MS. These two copies differ from each other: the Harleyan MS. includes four fables which are not in Bannatyne's; and Bannatyne's MS. three which are not in the Harleyan. His tale entitled *Orpheus kyng, and how he yeid to hewyn and to hel to seik his quene*, was printed by Chapman and Millar in the year 1508. A quarto edition of his *Testament of Faire Creseide* was published at Edinburgh by Henry Charters in the year 1593: and in 1611 it was reprinted at the same place and in the same form. This work occurs in the common editions of Chaucer. Many of his poems are to be found in the respective collections of Hailes, Pinkerton, Ramsay, and Sibbald.

The genius of Henryson seems to have been well adapted to didactic poetry, or that species which professes to convey to the mind of the reader important truths decked in an alluring garb. He has however attempted various modes of composition, and few without success. To his skill in versification he unites a power of poetical conception, of which that age did not furnish many examples. His verses, if devested of their uncouth orthography, might often be

[d] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. xcix.

mistaken for those of some poet of the present day.

The longest of his poems is the *Testament of Faire Creseide;* of which the subject was suggested by the perusal of Chaucer's *Troilus and Creseide*[e]. This production contains many strokes of poetical description which a writer of more than ordinary genius could only have produced. Propriety, it must be admitted, is frequently violated: but the beauties of the work are more than sufficient to counterbalance its deformities. It commences with the following stanzas:

A doly seson till a carefull dite
  Should corresponde and be equivalent:
Right so it was whan I began to write
  This tragedy; the weder right fervent,
  Whan Aries in middis of the Lent
Showris of haile gan fro the north discende,
That scantly fro the cold I might me defende.

[e] "The author of the *Testament of Creseide*," says Urry, "which might pass for the sixth book of this story, I have been informed by Sir James Erskin late Earl of Kelly, and diverse aged scholars of the Scottish nation, was one Mr Robert Henderson, chief schoolmaster of Dumferlin, a little time before Chaucer was first printed, and dedicated to King Henry VIII. by Mr Thynne, which was near the end of his reign. Mr Henderson wittily observing that Chaucer in his fifth book had related the death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Creseide, he learnedly takes upon him, in a fine poetical way, to express the punishment and end due to a false unconstant whore, which commonly terminates in extreme misery."

Yet nerthelesse within mine orature
I stode, whan Titan had his bemis bright
Withdrawin doun, and scylid undir cure,
And faire Venus the beauté of the night
Upraise, and sette unto the weste ful right
Her goldin face, in oppositioun
Of god Phœbus, directe discending doun.

Throughout the glasse her bemis brast so faire,
That I might se on every side me by:
The northrin winde had purified the aire,
And shedde his misty cloudis fro the skie:
The froste fresid, the blastis bittirly
Fro pole Artike came whisking loud and shill,
And causid me remove ayenst my will.

For I trustid that Venus, loveis quene,
To whom sometime I hight obedience,
My fadid hert of love she would make grene:
And thereupon with humble reverence
I thought to praie her hie magnificence;
But for grete colde as than I lettid was,
And in my chambre to the fire gan pas.

Though love be hote, yet in a man of age
It kindlith nat so sone as in youthed;
Of whom the blode is flowing in a rage,
And in the olde the corage dul and ded;
Of which the fire outwarde is best remed:
To helpe by phisike wher that nature failed
I am experte, for bothe I have assailed.

I made the fire and bekid me aboute,
  Than toke I drinke my spirites to comforte,
And armid me wel fro the colde thereoute.
  To cutte the wintir night and make it shorte,
  I toke a quere, and lefte al othir sporte,
Writin by worthy Chaucer glorious
Of faire Creseide and lusty Troilus[f].

Creseide having returned to the habitation of her father, is represented as despondent and querulous: she shuts herself up in an oratory, and begins to upbraid Venus and Cupid for having permitted her to sink into such hopeless misery:

Whan this was said, doun in an extasy,
  Ravished in spirite, in a dreme she fel,
And by apparaunce herde where she did lie
  Cupide the King tinging a silvir bel,
  Which men might here fro hevin into hel;
At whose sounde before Cupido aperes
The seven planets discending fro the spheres.

This silver bell is certainly possest of no common virtues: but the reader is not prepared to expect such consequences from its ringing.—Henryson's knowledge of astronomy seems to have been extremely imperfect. According to his notion, the planets are seven in number; namely Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Phœbus, Venus, Mercury, and Cynthia. And when they are thus introduced, he is by no means sufficiently

[f] Anderson's British Poets, vol. i. p. 409.

careful to preserve their personified characters: they are sometimes planets, and sometimes gods and goddesses.

Perhaps the most striking passage which his works contain, is his delineation of the person of Saturn. Though some of the touches may be calculated to excite disgust, the picture is evidently drawn with a bold and masterly hand:

His face frounsid, his lere was like the lede,
  His tethe chattrid, and shivered with the chin,
His eyin droupid, whole sonkin in his hede,
  Out at his nose the mildrop fast gan rin;
  With lippis blew, and chekis lene and thin;
The iseickils that fro his heer doune honge
Was wondir grete, and as a spere was longe.

Attour his belte his liart lockis laie
  Feltrid unfaire, or fret with frostis hore;
His garment and his gite ful gay of graie,
  His widrid wede fro him the winde out wore;
  A bousteous bowe within his honde he bore,
Undir his girdle a fashe of felone flains
Fedrid with ise and hedid with holstains.

Other figures of the group are also depicted with strength of colouring. The picture of "Lady Cynthia" however is totally devoid of congruity: if the poet regard her as a person, his description is wild and unappropriate; if as the moon, he ought to have recollected that a planet cannot

conveniently enter the door of an oratory. It may indeed be urged in his defence, that as these personages are only supposed to have been beheld through the medium of a dream, the utmost congruity was not indispensibly requisite.

The attributes of Mercury, as exhibited by Henryson, are altogether inconsistent with classical notions. He is properly represented as "right eloquent and ful of rethorie;" but why he should be invested with a doctor's gown, it will perhaps be difficult to discover:

> Boxis he bare with fine electuares
> And sugrid siropes for digestion,
> Spices belonging to the potiquares,
> With many wholsome swete confection;
> Doctor in Phisike cledde in scarlet goun,
> And furrid wel, as suche one ought to be,
> Honest and gode, and not a worde couth lie.

The honesty of Mercury has always been regarded as somewhat equivocal: and if the precedent character be drawn with impartiality, Horace must have been little acquainted with his history:

> Te canam, magni Jovis et Deorum
> Nuntium, curvæque lyræ parentem;
> Callidum, quidquid placuit, jocoso
> Condere furto.

The remainder of this poem, though less remarkable than the visionary scene, may also be

perused with pleasure. He proceeds, as Urry remarks, " in a fine poetical way."

Of the *Fabils* of Henryson several have been published. That of *The Lyon and the Mous* he feigns himself to have received from Æsop in one of his day-dreams. Æsop informs him that the place of his birth was Rome, and that he was there initiated in the mysteries of science. When Henryson is apprized of the character of his aërial visitor, he with profound reverence addresses him by the titles of poet and laureat. From these circumstances it is evident that he was totally unacquainted even with the history of the writings which are commonly ascribed to Æsop the Phrygian, but which Dr Bentley, a critic of admirable sagacity, has demonstrated to belong to the catalogue of spurious productions[g]. The work which he had perused must have been some metrical version in Latin[h].

[g] Dr Bentley however was not the first critic who detected the spuriousness of the apologues which bear the name of Æsop; they had already been represented in the same light by several others. The elegant and acute Vavassor is of opinion that the work was entirely composed by Planudes, but that this monk must have gleaned, from tradition as well as from books, various fugitive apologues ascribed to Æsop. (*De Ludicra Dictione*, p. 20. Paris. 1658, 4to.)—Of the Æsopic fables, a MS. which may possibly reflect new light on the subject, has lately been discovered at Herculaneum.

[h] Mr Tyrwhitt has remarked, that in many passages " quoted from Æsop by writers of the middle ages it is not easy to say what author they mean.---The name of Æsop," he adds, " was chiefly appropriated to the anonymous author of sixty fables in elegiac metre, which are printed in Nevelet's collection under the title of *Anonymi Fabulæ Æsopicæ*. I have

The introductory part of this fable possesses uncommon beauty. The following passage in particular is too remarkable to be overlooked:

In myddis of June, that joly sueit sessoun,
  Quhen that fair Phebus, with his beamis brycht,
Had dryit up the dew fra daill and down,
  And all the land maid with his lemys lycht;
  In a morning betwene mid-day and nycht,
I raiss and put all sluith and sleep on syde;
Ontill a wod I went allone, but gyd.

Sueit was the smell of flouris quhyt and reid,
  The noyis of birdis rycht delitious;
The bewis brod blwmyt abone my heid;
  The grund growand with grassis gratious:
  Of all pleasans that place was plenteous,
With sueit odours and birdis armonie;
The mornyng myld my mirth was mair forthy.

The roseis reid arrayit rone and ryss,
  The primrose and the purpure viola:
To heir it was a poynt of paradyss,
  Sic myrth the mavyss and the merle cowth ma:
  The blossoms blyth brak up on bank and bra;
The smell of herbis, and of foulis the cry,
Contending quha suld have the victory.

The apologue of *The Borrowstoun Mous and the Landwart Mous* may be regarded as his most happy effort in this department. The same tale

seen an edition of them in 1503 by Wynkyn de Worde, in which they are entitled simply *Esopi Fabulæ*." (*Glossary to Chaucer*, voc. Yesope.)

has been told by many poets, ancient as well as modern; and among the rest by Horace, Cowley, and La Fontaine; though the latter has substituted rats instead of mice.

The general fault of his fables is, that they are too much protracted. The apologues of the spurious Æsop, of Phædrus, Poggius, and Abstemius, seldom exceed the bounds of a few lines; whereas those of Henryson are extended over a surface of many pages.

The *Garment of Gude Ladyis* is a poem of a fanciful construction; but, as Lord Hailes has justly remarked, "the comparison between female ornaments and female virtues is extended throughout so many lines, and with so much of a tirewoman's detail, that it becomes somewhat ridiculous[i]."

The *Abbay Walk* is of a solemn character, and not altogether incapable of impressing the imagination. Its object is to inculcate submission to the various dispensations of providence: and in the management of this theme he evinces some degree of skill in the poetical art. His thoughts are such as the pious mind willingly recognizes; nor are they debased by an unsuitable poverty of diction.

Henryson was evidently acquainted with the works of Chaucer: and it has been supposed that

[i] Hailes, Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 279.

a verse of the *Abbay Walk* is purloined from that poet's *Cuckowe and Nightingale.*

> For he can makin of lowe hertis hie,
> And of hie lowe.
>
> CHAUCER.

> Quha heis law hairtis, and lawis hé.
>
> HENRYSON.

But if coincidence always implies imitation, we shall be under the necessity of tracing this thought to another origin :

> For thou wilt save the afflicted people; but wilt bring down high looks.
>
> *Psalm* xviii.

> Ῥεῖα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ῥία δὲ βριάοντα χαλίπτει,
> Ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει, καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει.
>
> HESIOD.

> Valet ima summis
> Mutare, et insignem attenuat Deus,
> Obscura promens.
>
> HORATIUS.

The *Prais of Ege*, the *Ressoning betwixt Deth and Man*, and the *Ressoning betwixt Aige and Youth*, are of the same religious complexion, though of inferior beauty.

*The Bludy Serk*, which has been classed among his fables, is an allegorical composition of considerable merit. The poet represents the accomplished daughter of a mighty monarch as having

been carried away by a hideous giant, and cast into a dungeon, where she was doomed to remain until some courteous knight should atchieve her deliverance. A worthy prince at length appeared as her champion, vanquished the giant, and thrust him into the loathsome dungeon which he had prepared for others. When he had restored the damsel to her father, he felt that death must speedily be the consequence of the wounds which he had received in the combat. To her he bequeathed his *bludy serk*, and solemnly enjoined her to contemplate it whenever another lover should happen to present himself.

This king is lyk the Trinitie
Baith in hevin and heir;
The manis saule to the lady,
The gyane to Lucefeir,
The knycht to Chryst that deit on tré,
And coft our synnis deir;
The pit to hell with panis fell,
The syn to the woweir.

The lady was woud, but scho said nay
With men that wald hir wed:
Sa suld we wryth all syn away
That in our breist is bred.
I pray to Jesu Chryst verray
For us his blud that bled,
To be our help on domysday,
Quhair lawis ar strontly led.

The saule is Goddis dochtir deir,
And eik his handewerk,
That was betrasit with Lucifeir,
Quha sittis in hell full merk.
Borrowit with Chrystis angell cleir,
Hend men will ye nocht herk?
For his lufe that bocht us sa deir,
Think on the bludy serk[j]!

But the most beautiful of his productions is the pastoral entitled *Robene and Makyne;* which I regard as superior in many respects to the similar attempts of Spenser and Browne. Free from the glaring improprieties which appear in the eclogues of those writers, it exhibits many genuine strokes of poetical delineation, and evinces the author to have been intimately acquainted with human character. Robene's indifference seems indeed to be rather suddenly converted into love: but this is perhaps the only misrepresentation of the operations of nature into which the poet has been betrayed. The fable is skilfully conducted: the sentiments and manners are truly pastoral; and the diction possesses wonderful terseness and suavity.

j Pinkerton's Scotish Poems, vol. iii. p. 193.

THE

# LIFE

OF

# *WILLIAM DUNBAR.*

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IN the history of the life and writings of so distinguished a poet as Dunbar, every admirer of ancient genius must feel a high degree of interest. His writings have been transmitted to us with pious care: but in the midst of the pleasure which arises from their perusal, we often pause with sentiments of regret, and recal the unwelcome reflection that almost every particular of the author's fortune and character has been permitted to sink into oblivion.

"After my bones have mouldered into dust, my memory shall be cherished, my actions recorded, and my compositions admired."—Such is the often-repeated soliloquy of many a candidate for fame, whose very name shall almost be forgot-

ten before the grass of a second spring shall have begun to sprout from his grave. In some instances we are not so reluctant to acquiesce in the decision: we revere the expanding wishes of the individual without being disposed to admit the extent of his claims. When many candidates present themselves, many must of necessity be rejected. The mountain of renown is composed of materials of so peculiar a nature, that were a promiscuous crowd to press towards its summit, the stupendous fabric would begin to sink into itself. But when the full measure of celebrity is not awarded to a writer of unquestionable merit, we lament the injustice of the decree. The fate of Dunbar, both as a man and as a poet, seems to have been adverse. He was beyond all dispute a writer of superior endowments: in his mind nature had sown the seeds of excellence, and cultivation had performed her part; yet there is too much reason to believe that most of his days were consumed amid the gloom of poverty. His cotemporaries have left the events of his life uncommemorated: and no complete edition of his works, the fairest monument which can be erected in honour of departed genius, has hitherto solicited the regard of his countrymen.

William Dunbar is supposed to have been born about the year 1465[a]. Kennedy represents him

[a] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. xcii.

as related to the Earl of March: but this perhaps is only to be considered as a poetical fiction, introduced for the purpose of heightening his invective. The same writer seems to insinuate that the place of his birth was *Mount Falconn:* for this is the genuine reading of the passage in his *Flyting*, although Ramsay has impudently substituted *Mount Saltone*[b]. The whole of thy patrimony, says Kennedy, is a tough halter on Mount Falconn. This name, I believe, is not now applied to any place within the limits of Scotland: but

[b] For this correction we are indebted to Mr Sibbald: "*On Mount Falconn.* So it stands distinctly in Millar and Chapman's Miscellany, 1508; and *Falcone* in the Bannatyne MS. But Allan Ramsay in his *Ever Green* thought proper to change it to *Mount Saltone;* and Lord Hailes happening to overlook this false reading, was led to fix upon *Salton* in East Lothian as the place of Dunbar's birth or residence. Mr Pinkerton, partly from contempt of the poem, fell into the same mistake. The truth is there is no ground for any such supposition; nor is there a single passage in all Dunbar's works that can lead us to ascertain the country to which he belonged. It appears that he often, if not chiefly, resided in Edinburgh; and probably that was the only reason he had for boasting that he wore "ane pair of Lowthiane hipps." There is, however, a probability that he belonged to the county of Fife. Upon the forfeiture of Dunbar, Earl of March, *anno* 1434, the barony of Kilconquhar, or Kinnebar, in Fife, (probably because it did not hold of the crown) was suffered to remain with the family, who continued in the possession of it until the reign of Queen Mary. Kennedy says expressly that Dunbar was of the *kin* of that family. *Falkland* being situated very near to the *Lowmond hills*, one of them may have been distinguished, at least in poetical language, by the name of *Falkland Mount;* and in those days it was also natural enough that there should be a *gallows* in the vicinity of a royal residence. Thus the true reading of the passage may be *Falkland Mount;* by corruption *Falcann* or *Falconn.*" (Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. i. p. 358.) These conjectures will not, I presume, appear very satisfactory to many readers.

Dunbar apparently represents himself as a native of Lothian :

> I haif on me a pair of Lowthiane hipps
> Sall fairer Inglis mak, and mair perfyte,
> Than thou can bieber with thy Carrick lipps.

Dunbar was educated for the church. There is some reason to believe that he studied in the University of Oxford : " Quod Dunbar at Oxinfurde," is the colophon of one of his poems. It is obvious indeed that he might visit Oxford in some other capacity than that of a student.

In his youth he appears to have been a travelling noviciate of the order of St Francis. His sentiments with regard to this profession we are enabled to glean from a poem describing *How Dunbar wes desyred to be ane Frier.* " Before the dawn of day," says the poet, " methought St Francis appeared to me with a religious habit in his hand, and said, Go, my servant, cloath thee in these vestments, and renounce the world. But at him and his habit I was scared like a man who sees a ghost.—And why art thou terrified at the sight of the holy weed? St Francis, reverence attend thee! I thank thee for the goodwill which thou hast manifested towards me : but with regard to those garments of which thou art so liberal, it has never entered into my mind to wear them. Sweet confessor, thou needst not take it in evil part. In holy legends have I heard

it alleged that bishops are more frequently canonized than friars. If therefore thou wouldst guide my soul towards heaven, invest me with the robes of a bishop. Had it ever been my fortune to become a friar, the date is now long past. Between Berwick and Calais, in every flourishing town of the English dominions, have I made good cheer in the habit of thy order. In friar's weed have I ascended the pulpit at Dernton and Canterbury: in it have I also crossed the sea at Dover, and instructed the inhabitants of Picardy. But this mode of life compelled me to have recourse to many a pious fraud from whose guilt no holy water could cleanse me."

The period of his return from the continent we have no means of ascertaining. He was most probably residing in Scotland in 1503: during that year were celebrated the nuptials of James the Fourth and Margaret Tudor; an event which he has commemorated in a beautiful poem entitled *The Thistle and the Rose*. This is evidently the production of a man previously habituated to the art of composition.

His works are in some measure a register of his friendships and enmities: and from them it would appear that he was frequently exposed to the multifarious weapons which envy and malice are ever ready to prepare. His most serious contest seems to have been that with Kennedy. On both sides the *flyting* is maintained with sufficient ani-

mosity. The attack is begun by Dunbar: but it is evident that he had been previously injured by the satires or insinuations of Kennedy and his friend. In *The Testament of Kennedy*, Dunbar has consecrated this apparently dissolute priest to perpetual ridicule. Lord Hailes is inclined to suppose that their fierce altercation may have been a mere effort of illiberal fancy, without any real quarrel between the antagonists[c]. This opinion however seems hardly consistent with probability. They have maintained the dispute with the utmost pertinacity, and with the obvious intention of wounding the feelings of each other: of every disagreeable topic and every opprobrious epithet they have been sedulous to avail themselves. Nor is the notion that their enmity was unfeigned, invalidated by the affectionate terms in which Dunbar afterwards speaks of his dying rival. A mind susceptible of unbounded indignation may also be susceptible of unbounded generosity. The causes of enmity may be gradually removed: those who were once agitated by hostile passions may at length be united in the bonds of friendship; and the hand which was once invigorated for destruction, may now be ready to pour balm into the wounds which it has inflicted. The revolutions of human life are calculated for effecting a correspondent revolution in our senti-

[c] Hailes, Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 274.

ments. To Kennedy the prospect of death had already presented itself: in his rival, once so sprightly, the fervours of youth were completely subsided; and he was at length familiarized with those abortive hopes which are destined to be the portion of every individual.

The opinion of Lord Hailes is however rendered somewhat plausible by the correspondent history of the altercation which subsisted between Luigi Pulci and Matteo Franco. Although, for the amusement of their readers, these authors loaded each other with the grossest abuse, yet the intimacy of their friendship is said to have continued without interruption[d].

Several of Dunbar's compositions exhibit him in the character of a court-poet. He even represents himself as dancing "in the quene's chalmer:"

Than cam in Dunbar the mackar;
On all the flure thair was nane frackar,
And thair he dauncet the Dirry-duntoun:
He hoped lyk a piller wantoun:
For luff of Musgraeffe men fulis me:
He trippet quhill he tuir his pantoun.
A mirrear dance micht na man see.

Than cam in Maestris Musgraeffe;
Scho mycht haff lernit all the laeffe.

[d] Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. i. p. 252.

Quhen I saw hir sa trimlye dance,
Hir gud conwoy and contenance,
Than for hir sack I wissit to be
The grytast erle or duke in France.
A mirrear dance micht na man see.

From the strain of his earlier compositions it is evident that he had entertained high expectations of ecclesiastical promotion. Merit however is not always a sufficient recommendation. He appears to have spent his life in a state of neglected indigence, while others of far inferior pretensions were loaded with the revenues of the church. "Why shouldst thou," says the desponding poet, "be induced to hope for preferment, when a contemptible Italian impostor finds means to thrust himself into the chair of an abbot? How the affairs of the church are regulated, I know not; but assuredly its benefices are not distributed with an impartial hand. While some priests enjoy seven, I am not possest of one; and some, unworthy as they are to fill a stall, would fain climb to the rank of cardinal; a bishopric being too mean an object for their inordinate ambition."

That James the Fourth was capable of distinguishing the merit of Dunbar, is by no means improbable. Ignorant he could not be of the poet's situation: for several of the compositions addrest to him contain hints which it would have been impossible to misunderstand. His patro-

nage seems however to have been solicited without success. The following stanzas were addrest *To the King, quhane mony benefices vakit:*

Schir, at this fest of benefyce,
Think that small parts make gryt servyce;
And equal dystrebutioun
Maks thame content that has ressoun:
And quha hes nane ar pleset na vyss.

Schir, quhidder is it merit mair
To gif him drink that thristis sair,
Or fyll ane full man quhyl he brist,
And lat his fellowe dye for thrist,
Quhylk wyne to drink als worthy wer?

It is no glaid collatioun
Quhyle ane maks mirrie, ane uthair luiks downe;
Ane thrists, ane uthair playis cope out.
Let anes the cop go round about,
And wyn the covanis benysoun.

Dunbar frequently renews his petition for preferment, and frequently complains that his old age is suffered to wear away in poverty and neglect. From his *Prayer that the King war Johne Thomsoun's Man*, it would appear that Queen Margaret, without possessing the power, had discovered an inclination to procure him a benefice. The tenor of his prayer is, that the king were more subservient to the views of his consort.

My advocat bayth fair and sueit,
The hale rowsing of my spreit,
Wald speid into my erands than,
And ye war anis Johne Thomsounis man[e].

Whether Dunbar's advancement was in any degree retarded by his own imprudence, it would be fruitless to enquire. As we have no positive proof of his immorality, our judgment ought to incline to the charitable side. The strain of his compositions, it must be confest, sometimes bears a more exact conformity to the precepts of Anacreon than to those of St Paul. But a poet is not always understood to utter his private sentiments: he often assumes a borrowed character, which he must endeavour to support with poetical, not moral propriety.

Nor was that age very scrupulous in the choice of its ministers of religion. The clergy were remarkable for almost every quality, except those of a virtuous kind. Instead of exhibiting exam-

e "This," says Mr Pinkerton, "is a proverbial expression, meaning *a hen-pecked husband*. I have little doubt but the original proverb was *Joan* Thomson's man." This writer has quoted an instance of the same phraseology from Samuel Colvil's *Mock Poem, or Whiggs Supplication*. Lond. 1681, 12mo. It also occurs in Rolland's *Seven Sages*, sig. M. 3.

To this talking ye should take tent,
Or afterward ye shall repent:
When ye are made *John Thomsons man*,
Then shall ye brawl, then shall ye ban,
And when remead none finde ye can,
But all with shame ouershent.

ples of meekness and devotion, they were commonly distinguished by perpetual instances of avarice, rapine, and lasciviousness. A general depravity of manners had indeed begun to pervade the nation. The women were strangers to modesty, the men to sober industry. Their ancient simplicity was departed. That species of luxury had been introduced which enervates the mind without refining it, and which destroys our relish for simple pleasures without improving our susceptibility of real enjoyment.

Of the character of the times the poetry of Dunbar exhibits frequent vestiges. Several of his compositions are strongly tinctured with expressions which to us appear grossly profane and indecent; although in the minds of his cotemporaries they certainly were not calculated to excite sensations of disgust. One of his addresses to the queen is of such a kind, that a modern courtezan would almost be disposed to turn from it with indignation. Even the most sacred observances of the church are converted into topics of ridicule: its litanies are burlesqued in a parody which for audacious profanity is almost unparalleled. And the impropriety of this attempt is the more offensive, as Dunbar was himself of the order of priesthood.

His later productions are of a more decent character. He had now begun to meditate on those momentous topics which at no period ought

to be entirely excluded from our recollection, but which must inevitably obtrude themselves upon the mind, when the gates of death are speedily to be opened for our admission. The hopes of which youth was so fertile had not been realized in manhood; and old age, always an unwelcome guest, had at length approached. "My soul," says he, "is alarmed with the fear of death. I who was once so gay and full of health, am now enfeebled by the hand of disease. I have found that the pleasures of this life are vain and transitory: I have found that the man who stands in need of friends can seldom find any; and that Falsehood often rides with pompous equipage, while Truth is suffered to walk in sordid apparel. —To the stroke of death every one must at length submit. The rest of the poets have descended into the grave, and I am left alone to await the fast-approaching hour of dissolution."

Such were the reflections which in the evening of life presented themselves to the mind of Dunbar. The time and the manner of his death remain undiscovered.

Some of the poems of Dunbar were printed by Chapman and Millar in the year 1508. The curious collection in the Advocates Library includes his *Goldin Terge*, his *Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*, his *Lament for the Deth of the Makkaris*, his *Testament of Kennedy*, and his ballad on D'Aubigny. *The Freirs of Berwik*, a tale ascribed to Dunbar, appears from an advertisement

appended to *The Priests of Peblis*, to have been printed by Robert Charters. In the year 1622 another edition issued from the press of Edward Raban of Aberdeen. Many of Dunbar's poems occur in the respective collections of Hailes, Pinkerton, Ramsay, and Sibbald. The Maitland and Bannatyne MSS. contain several which have not hitherto been published. A complete edition of his works was at one time eagerly expected from Mr Pinkerton: but that gentleman seems unfortunately to have relinquished a design which he is so well qualified for executing.

Tanner mentions an unpublished *Tabill of Confession*, written by a William Dunbar[s]. Whether this composition ought to be attributed to the poet, I have no opportunity of enquiring.

In the poetry of Dunbar we recognize the emanations of a mind adequate to splendid and varied exertion; a mind capable of soaring into the higher regions of fiction, or of descending into the humble walk of the familiar and ludicrous. He was endowed with a vigorous and well-regulated imagination; and to it was superadded that conformation of the intellectual faculties which constitutes the quality of good sense. His imagination, though highly prolific, was sufficiently chastened by the interposition of judg-

[s] Tanner. Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 237.

ment. In his allegorical poems we discover originality and even sublimity of invention; while those of a satirical kind present us with striking images of real life and manners. As a descriptive poet, he has received superlative praise. In the mechanism of poetry he evinces a wonderful degree of skill: he has employed a great variety of metres; and his versification, when opposed to that of his most eminent cotemporaries, will appear highly ornamented and poetical.

His compositions exhibit no vestiges of extensive learning: but he perhaps was not ambitious to display the stores which he possessed. Of the Greek language he was most probably ignorant; and his knowledge of the Latin cannot be supposed to have been very profound. Hitherto classical learning had not begun to be generally cultivated in Scotland. The scholars of that period who attained to distinction were invariably educated in foreign universities. Boyce and Mair, the cotemporaries of Dunbar, spent many of their earlier years in the schools of France, and at length returned to their native country in order to preside over its seminaries of learning. Buchanan, who flourished at a somewhat later period, stigmatizes his own age as unlettered[h]. As Dunbar had visited France, we may naturally sup-

[h] Nam si ego, mediocri ingenio, re familiari prope nullâ, seculo inerudito, ita tamen cum temporum iniquitate conflixerim, ut aliquid præstitisse videar, certe quibus, feliciore seculo natis, ætas, opes, ingenium abunde

pose that he was acquainted with the language of the country: but it is not apparent that he enriched his compositions from that copious source. With the language and poetry of Italy our countrymen were yet unacquainted: Montgomery and Drummond are among the earliest of our writers who seem to have approached that fountain. Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, those fathers of English poetry, are evidently the authors whom Dunbar regarded as his models. Of their respective merit he has spoken in the highest terms of commendation, and in a manner which leaves no room to doubt that he readily admitted their superiority over the most eminent of his countrymen. His opinion of the Scotish poets we are not enabled to discover: although his *Lament* contains the names of no fewer than twenty-three, yet of Mercer only has he spoken with critical discrimination.

To particularize his numerous productions, would be a work of supererogation. Many of them are written without much effort, and on subjects which to us appear undignified or unimportant. Some, which ought only to have assumed the character of satires, have deviated into the fury of invective. Others are calculated for presenting to the mind ideas of the utmost physical indelicacy. It is surprizing that he should

suppetunt, hi neque labore ab honesto instituto deterreri deberent, neque tot adminiculis adjuti desperare possunt."

BUCHANAN. de Jure Regni apud Scotos, p. 1.

have condescended to write such a poem as *The Tournament between the Soutar and Tailzior*, and still more surprizing that it should have found an editor in the eighteenth century,

About the age of Dunbar, it became a practice among the poets of Europe to attempt a motley species of composition, in which shreds of different languages are fantastically combined. To this the name of macaronic has not inaptly been applied. "About the year 1512, Merlin Coccaie of Mantua, whose true name was Theophilo Folengio, a Benedictine monk of Casino in Italy, wrote a poem entitled *Phantasiæ Macaronicæ*, divided into twenty-five parts. This is a burlesque Latin poem, in heroic metre, chequered with Italian and Tuscan words, and those of the plebeian character, yet not destitute of prosodical harmony. It is totally satirical, and has some degree of drollery; but the ridicule is too frequently founded on obscene or vulgar ideas. Prefixed is a similar burlesque poem called *Zanitonella*, or the Amours of Tonellus and Zanina: and a piece is subjoined, with the title of *Moschea*, or the War with the Flies and the Ants. The author died in 1544, but these poems, with the addition of some epistles and epigrams, in the same style, did not, I believe, appear in print before the year 1554[1]."

To this pattern Dunbar's *Testament of Kennedy* does not strictly conform. Without adhering to

[1] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 356.

the rules of prosody, he interlaces Latin with Scotish verses, in such a manner as to produce a very ludicrous effect. The concluding stanza may be produced as a specimen:

I will no preistis for me sing
*Dies ille, dies iræ,*
Nor yet na bellis for me ring,
*Sicut semper solet fieri;*
But a bag-pyp to play a spring,
*Et unam* ale-wisp *ante me;*
Insteid of torchis, for to bring
*Quatuor lagenas cervisiæ,*
Within the graif to sett, fit thing!
*In modum crucis juxta me,*
To fle the feyndis; than hardly sing
*De terra plasmasti me.*

Several of his moral poems are also chequered, though more sparingly, with scraps of Latin.

Dr Arbuthnot, in a ludicrous poem entitled *Gulielmi Sutherlandi Diploma*, has likewise attempted this mode of composition[j]. In the *Polemo-Middinia*, a burlesque production attributed with little probability to Drummond[k], the

j This poem however is attributed to William Meston, as well as to Dr Arbuthnot. See Meston's *Poetical Works*, p. 189. Edinb. 1767, 12mo.

k For the earliest edition of this poem we are indebted to Dr Edmund Gibson: "Polemo-Middinia; carmen macaronicum, auctore Gulielmo Drummundo, Scoto-Britanno. Accedit Jacobi id nominis Quinti, Regis Scotorum, cantilena rustica vulgò inscripta *Christes Kirk on the Green.*" Oxonii, 1691, 4to. His authority for ascribing the work to Drummond

models furnished by Folengio are more exactly paralleled. In this, as well as in the macaronic poems of Dr Geddes, the rules of Latin prosody are professedly observed.

Dunbar's poem entitled *The Daunce* exhibits many admirable strokes of description. The

he unfortunately has not specified. That a production of so indelicate a complexion should have proceeded from this poet, is by no means probable: and the following verse seems to exhibit historical evidence of its being composed at a period subsequent to his death:

Barytonam emisit veluti *Monsmegga* cracasset.

Drummond died in the year 1649: but the huge mortar known by the name of *Mons Meg* had not then, I believe, been brought into Scotland.

I remember to have heard the *Polemo-Middinia* adjudged in a decisive tone to Walter Dennistone. It ought however to have been recollected that this name is merely fictitious, and that the writer who assumed it was the celebrated Dr Pitcairne. A poetical paraphrase of the hundred and fourth psalm which first appeared with the name of Walter Dennistone (*Octupla; hoc est Octo Paraphraseis Poeticæ Psalmi CIV. Authoribus totidem Scotis*, sig. K. 4. Edinb. 1696, 12mo.), is without hesitation ascribed to Dr Pitcairne by subsequent editors. (Pitcarnii *Selecta Poemata* à Ruddimanno edita, p. 56. Lauder. *Poetarum Scotorum Musa Sacræ*, tom. ii. p. 517.) In the Catalogue of the Advocates Library, Dennistone is also represented as an assumed name of this ingenious writer; and among his select poems, various pieces appear with the same fictitious aspect. (*Selecta Poemata Pitcarnii, Scot, Kincadii, et aliorum*, p. 54. 74. &c. Edinb. 1727, 12mo.)

That Dr Pitcairne was the author of the *Polemo-Middinia*, I will not venture to assert; but the supposition perhaps is not totally devoid of probability. The initials of the names William Drummond and Walter Dennistone are the same in Latin as well as in English: and this circumstance, however trivial it may appear, might perhaps introduce the confusion which has ensued. Dr Gibson, it is sufficiently evident, did not enquire with much solicitude into the genuineness of the two poems which he has edited. But conjectures of this kind are little better than idle.

poet feigns that on the eve of Lent he fell into a trance, and was presented with a glimpse of heaven and hell. Mahoun, or the Devil, proclaims a dance of those accursed wretches who in the upper world have never obtained absolution from the holy hands of the priest. The seven deadly sins immediately begin to "cast up gramountis in the skyis." These terrible fiends are depicted with an original and powerful pencil; and the mode in which they are severally characterized is generally appropriate. The following image would not have been unworthy of Collins:

> Than Yre come in with sturt and stryfe;
> His hand wes ay upoun his knyfe.

His comic tale of *The Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* presents us with the only specimen of blank verse which the ancient Scotish language affords. The rythm is of that species which the author of *Piers Ploughman*, or some of his predecessors, borrowed from the Saxon poets, and which appears to have derived its origin from a remote æra.

The comparative antiquity of blank verse and rhyme furnishes a curious subject of investigation; a subject concerning which different writers have advanced very different opinions.

"Rhymes, it will be said, are a remnant of monkish stupidity, an innovation upon the poetry

of the ancients. They are but indifferently acquainted with antiquity who make this assertion. Rhymes are probably of older date than either the Greek or Latin dactyl and spondé[l]." This opinion of Goldsmith seems to be founded in truth. The most ancient poetry with which we are acquainted, is that which incidentally occurs in the sacred Scriptures: and the Hebrew poets, as a very learned writer has demonstrated, employ that recurrence of similar sounds which we denominate rhyme[m]. That the classical writers were not totally unacquainted with this "Gothic jingle," as pedants have termed it, several circumstances tend to evince[n]: but it would here be

[l] Goldsmith's Enquiry into Polite Learning, p. 151.

[m] "La poësie des Hebreux," says Le Clerc, "consiste uniquement en des vers rimez, et fort irreguliers. Le genie de la langue Hebraïque ne peut souffrir d'autre sorte de vers, et l'on conçoit aisément que les Hebreux, qui n'etoient pas extrémement polis, se sont peu mis en peine de réduire la poësie en art, comme ont fait ensuite les Arabes, et les Rabbins après eux.

"M. Vossius a remarqué que non seulement les Arabes, les Persans, et les Africains, mais encores les Tartares et les Chinois, et plusieurs nations de l'Amerique, ne connoissent aucune poësie que la poësie rimée. Il y a de l'apparence que les peuples septentrionaux, qui s'emparerent de toute l'Europe, dans la décadence de l'Empire, avoient aussi de semblable vers, et que c'est d'eux que les moines des siecles suivans apprirent à faire des vers Latins rimez, dont on trouve un si grand nombre dans les anciens Offices." (*Bibliotheque Universelle*, tom. ix. p. 230.) Consult Isaac Vossius *De Poematum Cantu et Viribus Rythmi*, p. 25. Oxonii, 1673, 8vo.

[n] It is not my intention to insinuate that the rhymes which occur in the works of the Greek and Latin poets, are not for the most part acci-

improper to enter into a formal discussion of the question. I shall content myself with remarking that in the elegies of the ancient Latin poets, rhyme occurs too frequently to be uniformly introduced without design. Tibullus, Ovid, and Propertius, were probably of opinion that it contributed to increase the soft and plaintive flow of their versification. The rhyme does not occur in proximate or alternate lines, but at the middle and close of the same pentameter: and when due attention is paid to the cæsura, these correspondent sounds produce a happy effect.

Osculaque opposito dicat sibi debita vento,
Et nihil infido durius esse viro?
Tu patrui meritas conare anteire secures,
Et vetera oblitis jura refer sociis.
Nam tua non ætas unquam cessavit amori,
Semper at armatæ cura fuit patriæ.

dental. Such instances as the following can hardly be supposed to have originated from deliberate choice:

Ἐγὼ δ' ἴσοπτερον εἶην
Ὅπως ἀεὶ βλίσπῃς μι·
Ἐγὼ χιτὼν γενοίμην,
Ὅπως ἀεὶ φορῇς μι.

ANACREON.

Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunto,
Et quocumque volent, animum auditoris agunto.

HORATIUS.

But in the elegiac compositions of the Latin poets, rhyme occurs so frequently, and produces so pleasing an effect, that its introduction cannot always be regarded as unintentional.

Et tibi non unquam nostros puer iste labores
Afferat, et lachrymis omnia nota meis.
Me sine, quem semper voluit Fortuna jacere,
Hanc animam extremæ reddere nequitiæ.

PROPERTIUS.

In the Greek elegiac poets instances of this kind are more rarely to be found; yet several examples might without difficulty be produced.

Τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης;
Τεθναίην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι.

MIMNERMUS.

Ἀαῇ γὰρ ξύμπαντι πόθος κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς
Θνήσκοντος, ζώων δ' ἄξιον ἁμιθίων.
Ὥσπερ γὰρ μιν πύργον ἰν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῦσιν·
Ἔρδει γὰρ πολλῶν ἄξια μοῦνος ἰών.

TYRTEUS.

Of the elegiac poetry of the Greeks so inconsiderable a portion has been preserved, that it might perhaps be rash to pronounce any definitive sentence: but it appears sufficiently probable that the frequent recurrence of rhyme in the elegies of the Latin classics was not altogether accidental.

In the second century the Emperor Adrian composed the well-known address to his departing spirit. The hymns of Ambrosius and Damasus, who flourished during the fourth century, exhibit frequent instances of rhyme. The succeeding

ages produced Sedulius, Fortunatus, and other Christian poets who have betrayed the same predelection for this species of embellishment. From the examples collected by Muratori it appears that so early as the seventh century, rhyme had begun to be generally admitted into hymns and other sacred poems composed in the Latin language. The Leonine verses of the monkish Latinists are supposed to have derived their name and origin from Pope Leo the Second; who towards the close of the seventh century introduced various improvements into the hymns of the church. But the invention is by other writers ascribed to Leonine, a French monk of St Victor at Marseilles, who lived about the year 1135.

Rhyme appears to have been introduced into English poetry about the reign of Henry the Second°: but the alliterative anapæstic metre of

° "Except a few lines in the Saxon Chronicle upon the death of William the Conquerour, which seem to have been intended for verses of the modern fashion, and a short Canticle, which, according to Matthew Paris, the blessed virgin was pleased to dictate to Godric, an hermite near Durham, I have not been able to discover any attempts at riming poetry, which can with probability be referred to an earlier period than the reign of Henry the Second. In that reign Lyamon, a priest of Ernleye near Severn, as he calls himself, translated (chiefly) from the French of Wace, a fabulous history of the Britons, entitled "Le Brut," which Wace himself, about the year 1155 had translated from the Latin of Geffrey of Monmouth. Though the greatest part of this work of Lyamon resemble the old Saxon poetry, without rime or metre, yet he often intermixes a number of short verses of unequal length but riming together pretty exactly, and in some places he has imitated not unsuccessfully the regular octosyllable measure of his French original."

TYRWHITT's Essay on Chaucer, p. 54.

the Saxons was often imitated at a much later period. This versification was employed by the Icelandic as well as the Saxon poets, and seems to have been constructed with considerable nicety. Its harmony, as Bishop Percy has collected from Olaus Wormius, " neither depended on the quantity of the syllables, like that of the ancient Greeks and Romans; nor on the rhymes at the end, as in the modern poetry ; but consisted altogether in alliteration, or a certain artful repetition of the sounds in the middle of the verses. This was adjusted according to certain rules of their prosody, one of which was, that every distich should contain at least three words beginning with the same letter or sound. Two of these correspondent sounds might be placed either in the first or second line of the distich, and one in the other; but all three were not regularly to be crowded into one line[P]."

Dunbar and the author of *Piers Ploughman* have constructed their verses in conformity to this model: but in the editions of their respective works, each distich is exhibited as a single verse; and this perhaps was the arrangement adopted by the poets themselves. Their lines however admit a division without any degree of violence: but they cannot be reduced to any regular standard of metre.

[P] Percy's Essay on the Metre in P. Plowman, p. 272.

Dunbar's tale presents us with a lively though indelicate picture of ancient manners. Bishop Percy considers it as equal to one of the most humorous productions of Chaucer. The peculiarity of the metre has compelled the poet to adopt many uncouth terms; but his accuracy of observation and strength of description shine through the cloud of obsolete language in which they are involved. He has characterized the three dissolute females with admirable powers of description. Nor is the charge of immorality to be urged against him. He has exhibited these characters, not as patterns of imitation, but as objects of infamy. In order however to effect this purpose, it was necessary to attempt a complete developement of their system of conduct: and if in the prosecution of his design he is sometimes found to overstep the bounds of propriety, we must recollect the indelicate complexion of the age in which he lived.

One of the ladies reveals her sentiments in the following terms:

God gif matrimony wer made to mell for ane yeir!
It war bot monstrous to be mair bot gif our mindis pleisit.
It is againe the law of luif, of kynd, and of nature,
Togidder hairtis to streine that stryvis with uthar.
Birdis hes ane better law na bernis be meikil,
That ilk yeir, with new joy, joyis ane maik,
And fangis thame ane freshe feyr, unfulyeit and constant,
And lattis thair sukert feyris flie quhair thai plejs.

Chryst gif sic ane consuetude war in this eith yoldin !
Than weil war us wemen, that ever we may be fre,
We suld have feiris as fresche to fang quhen we wald,
And gif all larbaris thair leveis quhan thai lak curage.

From the works of Dunbar and other poets it would appear, that the women of that period were too generally of a gross and unamiable character: and indeed the refinement of the two sexes will for the most part be found to observe the same progress. The Scotish ladies seem to have been violently addicted to intemperance: Dunbar represents the three gossips as sitting at their cups and carousing with wild delight. At every pause of the conversation, the rich wine is circulated in a manner which evinces that they regard it as one of the principal sources of enjoyment. From this tale it also appears that the Scotish ladies were at that time accustomed to deck their persons with cumbersome magnificence. The wife of a merchant thus describes her attire:

He graythit me in gay silk and gudelie arrayis,
In gounis of ingraint clayth and greit goldin chenyeis,
In ringis ryallie set with ryche rubie stanis;
Quhill all helie rais my renoun amang the rude peipil.

The beginning of this tale may be selected as a very favourable specimen of the poet's talent for description:

Upon the Midsumer ewin, mirriest of nichtis,
I muvit furth alane, quhen as midnicht wes past,
Besyd ane gudlie grene garth full of gay flouris,
Hegeit of ane huge hicht with hawthorne treeis;
Quhairon ane bird on ane bransche so birst out hir notis,
That never ane blythfullar bird was on the beuche harde.
Quhat throw the sugarat sound of hir sang glaid,
And throw the savour sanative of the sweit flouris,
I drew in derne to the dyke to dirkin eftir myrthis.
The dew donkit the dail, and [dynarit] the feulis.
I hard, under ane holyn hewinlie grein hewit,
Ane hie speiche at my hand with hautand wourdis.
With that in haist to the hege so hard I inthrang,
That I was heildit with hawthorne and with heynd leveis:
Throw pykis of the plet thorne I presandlie luikit,
Gif ony persoun wald approche within that plesand garding.
I saw thre gay ladeis sit in ane grene arbeur,
All grathit into garlaneis of fresche gudelie flouris:
So glitterit as the gowd wer thair glorious gilt tressis,
Quhil all the gressis did gleme of the glaid hewis;
Kemmit was thair cleir hair, and curiouslie sched
Attour thair schoulderis doun, schyre schyning full bricht;
With kurches cassin thame abone of crisp cleir and thin.
Thair mantillis grein war as the gress that grew in May sesoun,
Fastnit with thair quhyt fingaris about thair fair sydis.
Off ferliful fyne favour war thair faces meik,
All full of flurist fairheid, as flouris in June;
Quhyt, seimlie, and soft, as the sweet lillies;
New upspred upon spray as new spynist rose.
Arrayit ryallie about with mony riche wardour,
That Nature full nobilie annamilit fine with flouris
Of alkin hewis under hewin that ony heynd knew,
Fragrant, all full of fresche odour fynest of smell.

Mr Pinkerton has proposed some reasons for believing that Dunbar was also the author of *The Freirs of Berwik*[q]. This tale, to whatever author

[q] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. ii. p. 394.

it may be referred, undoubtedly exhibits a most admirable specimen of the comic mode of writing. Without suffering by the comparison, it may be ranked with the best tales of Chaucer. The story is most skilfully conducted; and in its progress, the poet displays an extensive and accurate acquaintance with the diversities of human character. His humour seems peculiar and underived. His descriptions are at once striking and appropriate. The different characters introduced are supported with the utmost propriety, and with a power of conception and of delineation which has not very frequently solicited our attention.

This tale also possesses one advantage over the other; it is written in the heroic couplet, a measure with which our ears have long been familiarized. This measure did not compel the poet to adopt obsolete and uncouth terms for the sake of alliteration. If Dunbar was in reality the author of this production, it affords additional evidence of his uncommon proficiency in the art of poetry. Few writers have attempted a greater variety of measures, and managed them with equal success.

The substance of this inimitable tale I shall endeavour to exhibit in a comprest form; though it cannot fail of being somewhat disfigured by such a process.

Allan and Robert, two White or Jacobine Friars of Berwick, returning from a visit to some

of their brethren in the country, are overtaken by the twilight and induced to have recourse to the hospitality of Dame Alesoun, the fair wife of Simon Lauder, an honest and jovial farmer. On enquiring after her husband, they are informed that he has taken a journey for the purpose of procuring corn and hay. They begin to make good cheer, and prolong their stay till it is too late to depart.

> The freirs woxe blyth, and mirrie tales culd tell;
> And ewin so thai hard the prayar bell
> Of that abbay; and than thai war agast,
> Becaus thai wist the yetts war lokit fast,
> That thai micht nocht fra thyn get enteray.
> The gudwyf than thai pray, for charité,
> To grant thame harborie thair for that nicht.

The dame however protests that a regard for her reputation will not suffer her to harbour friars during the absence of her husband. Allan, whose age and infirmities render him unwilling to venture abroad at so late an hour, persists in his entreaties, and is at length successful. "The gudwyf luikit at the freyris tuay."—She informs them that all the accommodation which they have to expect is a truss of straw in the barn. They gladly accept even of this condition; and she with evident impatience importunes them to retire. They accordingly ascend a loft intended for the reception of corn and hay.

Freyr Allane liggis doun as he best micht:
Freyr Robert sayd, " I oucht to walk this nicht;
Quha wait perchance sum sport I may espy ?"
Thus in the loft I lat the freyris ly;
And of this fayr wyff I will tellyne mair.
Scho was full blyth that thai war closin thair,
For scho had made ane tryst, that samyn nicht,
Freyr Johne hir luffis supper for to dicht:
Thairfoir scho wuld nane uther cumpany,
Becaus Freyr Johne all nicht with hir wald ly:
Quhilk duelland was within that nobill toun;
Ane Gray Freyr he was of greit renoun.
He governit all the haly abbasy:
Silver and gold he had aboundantlie.
He had ane previe postroun of his awin,
That he micht usché, quhen him list, unknawin.
Thus in the toun I will him leven still,
Bydand his tyme; and turne agane I will
To this fayr wyf, how scho the fyre culd beit;
Scho thrangis on fat capouns on the speit,
And fat cunyngs to the fyre can lay:
And bade hir madin, in all haste scho may,
To flame, and turne, and rost thame tendyrlie:
Syn till her chalmer scho is went in hie.
Scho castis on ane kirtil of fyne reid;
Ane quhyt curchey scho cast upon hir heid,
Hir kyrtil belt was silk and silver fyne,
With ane proud purs, and keyis gingling syne.
On ilkane fyngar scho wars ringis tuo:
Scho was als pround as ony papingo.
And of ane burde of silk, richt costlie grein,
Hir tusché was, with silver weil besene.
And but scho come into the hall anone;
And syne scho went to se gif ony come.
And ewin so Freyr Johne knokt at the yet;
His knok scho knew, and in scho culd him lat.

She welcomes the Gray Friar with sufficient kindness; and they proceed to caress each other without reserve. In the mean while Friar Robert, the younger and more sly of the two, is not unemployed: having with the help of his bodkin formed an opening in the partition which separates the barn from the farm-house, he continues to amuse himself with observing their motions. After they have prolonged their courtship for some time, she hastens to present a choice repast: but their recreation is soon interrupted by the unexpected arrival of Alesoun's husband. Simon knocks and calls loudly at the gate; but his house cannot be instantly prepared for his reception. Friar John is thrown into a state of prodigious alarm; and as he finds it impossible to escape, he is fain to shelter himself under a kneading trough. Alesoun commands her maid to remove every vestige of the banquet, and hastens to bed. Simon, wearied with calling to his faithful wife for admission, passes to the window of her chamber; and, after she has sufficiently acted her part, he is so fortunate as to obtain entrance. The jolly farmer is hardly seated at his supper when, in the genuine spirit of Scotish hospitality[r], he begins to wish that he could share it with some good fellow.

[r] Cardan, who had himself visited Scotland, has commemorated the exemplary hospitality of the natives: "Est verò inter amicitiæ fœdera non vulgare, hospitii jus quod invidiâ vacet, quale apud Scotos: nam

He sittis doun, and sweiris " Be Allhallow,
I fayr richt weill had I ane gud fallow.
Dame eit with me, and drink gif that ye may."
The gudwyf answert meiklie, " Hop I nay.
It war mair tyme into your bed to be,
Than now to sit desyrand cumpanie."
The freyris tua that in the loft can ly,
Thay hard him weill desyrand cumpany.
Freyr Robert said, " Allane, gud brother deir,
I wald the gudman wist that we war heir!
Quha wait perchance the better we may fayr?
For sickerlie my hart will ewir be sair
Gif yon scheip's heid with Symon bwnist be:
And thair so gud meit in yon almorie!"
And with that wourd he gave ane hoist anone:
The gudman heird, and speirit, " Quha is yon?
Methink [that] thair is men into yon loft."
" Yon are your awin freyris brether tuay."
" I pray thé, dame, tell me quhat freyrs are thay."
" Yon is Freyr Robert and sillie Freyr Allane,
That all this day has gane with meikle pane,
Be thay war heir it was sa verray lait,
Houris war roung, and closit was the yet:
And in yon loft I gave thame harborye."
The gudman said, " Sa God have part of me!
Thay freiris tua ar hartlie wylcum hidder:
Gar call thame doun, that we may drink togidder."
The gudwyf said, " I reid you lat thame ly:
Thay had lever sleip nor be in laudery:

apud nos rarius est, et omnes jam ad cauponas divertunt. Argumentum id est, nos factos deteriores majoribus nostris." (*De Utilitate ex Adversis Capienda*, p. 41.) This celebrated Italian had been invited to Scotland by Archbishop Hamilton; who endeavoured by the temptation of a munificent stipend to retain him as his domestic physician. (Cardan. *De Propriis Vita*, p. 193. edit. Naudæi.)

To drink and dot, it ganis nocht for thame."
" Lat be, fair dame; thay wourdis ar in vane:
I will thame have, be Goddis dignité:
Mak no delay, bot bring them doun to me."

Allan and Robert accordingly descend from the loft, and meet their honest host with due cordiality. When Allan begins to commend the fare, Simon protests that he would give a golden crown for something more suitable to the occasion. Robert, who had remarked the progress of the supper destined for Friar John, undertakes to procure, by the aid of magical arts, any dainties which he may happen to prefer. The mention of enchantments excites the eager curiosity of Simon: and at his request, Robert begins to prepare his spells.

Than Symon said, " Freyr Robert, I yow pray,
For my saik that science ye wald assay
To mak us sport." And than the freyr uprais,
And tuke his buik, and to the flure he gayis,
And turnis our and reidis on ane space;
And in the eist he turnit ewin his face,
And maid ane croce; and than the freyr cuth lout;
And in the west he turnit him ewin about:
Than in the north he turnt, and lowtit doun,
And tuke his buke and said ane orisone.
And ay his e was on the almerie,
And on the trouche quhar that the freyr cuth ly.

After his spells have proceeded to a proper height, he commands Alesoun to open the cupboard, and

to display the dainty cheer which his arts have procured. The cunning hostess, who is sufficiently acquainted with the origin and nature of his pretended magic, yields to necessity, and with well-dissembled astonishment displays the tempting supper and wine which she had destined for the unlucky Friar John. Simon is not a little surprized at the comfortable effect of Friar Robert's enchantments; but does not hesitate to partake of the good fare which has thus been provided. After they have continued to regale themselves during a great part of the night, Simon begins to revert to the wonderful science of his roguish guest: and Robert, willing to gratify his curiosity, promises to favour him with a sight of his ministring spirit, but not in his proper spiritual form.

Freyr Robert said, " Sen that your will is so,
Tell onto me, withouttin wourdis mo,
Into quhat stait ye list that he appeir."
Than Symon said, " In lyknes of ane freyr,
In quhyte habite sic as yourself can weir:
For colour quhyt it will to no man deir;
And ewill spreitts quhyte colour ay will fle."
Freyr Robert said, " I say it may nocht be,
That he appeir intill our habite quhyt;
For till our ordour it war grit dispyt,
That ony sic unwourthy wicht as he,
Into our habite ony man suld se.
Bot, sen it plesis yow that now is here,
Ye sall him se in lyknes of ane freyr,
In gray habite, as i. his kynd to weir."---

Than Symon said, " I consent it be sua :"
Than up he stert, and tuik ane libberlay
Intill his hand, and on the flure he stert
Sumthing effrayt, thoch stalwart was his hart.

Friar Robert, unwilling to expose the holy culprit to extreme infamy, conducts his operations in such a manner as to suffer him to quit the house without detection, but not without a little salutary castigation. Resuming his book, and turning towards the kneading trough, he thus addresses the reputed spirit:

" How Hurlbasie ! anone I conjure thee,
That up thow ryse, and syne to [us] appeir
In gray habite in lyknes of ane freyr ;
Out fra the trouche quhair that thow can ly,
Thow rax thee sone, and mak us na tary ;
Thow turne our the trouche, that we may see,
And syn till us thow schaw thé openlie.
And in this place se na man that thow greif ;
Bot draw thy handis bayth into thy sleif,
And pow thy cowl lenthe attour thy face ;
For thow sall byd na langar in this place."
With that the freyr under the trouche that lay,
No wounder thoch his hart was in effray ;
Than off the trouche he tumblit sone anone,
And to the dure he schapis him to gone,
With ewill cheyr and dreyrie countynance ;
For never befoir him happint sic ane chance.
Bot quhen Freyr Robert him saw gangand by,
Than on Symon he cryis hastelie,
" Stryk hardelie, for now is tym to thé."
With that Symon ane felloun flap leit flie ;

With his burdoun he hit him in the nek;
He was so fers he fell attour ane sek,
And brak his heid upon the mustarde stone.
Be that the freyr attour the stayr was gone,
In sic ane wys he missit hes the trap;
He fell in ane meikil myre, as wes his hap,
Was fourtie fute on breid, under the stayr:
And thus his pairt was nathing wounder fayr
Into that tyme, considdering how it stude.
Out of the myre full smertlie at he woude [1],
And on the wall he clame full haistely
Was maid about, and all with stanis dry;
And of that 'schape in hart he wes full fane:
Now he sall be [richt] layth to come agane.

This tale of *The Freirs of Berwik* is evidently the prototype of Ramsay's *Monk and Miller's Wife*: and its vast superiority over the modern production is equally manifest. The praise of invention belongs exclusively to the ancient writer; who has moreover displayed a pungency of humour to which Ramsay could never approach.

Many of the comic and satirical compositions of Dunbar are valuable memorials of ancient manners; and if incapable of gratifying the reader of taste, they are at least objects of curiosity to the antiquary. Of this description is that entitled *The Sweirers and the Devill*; a poem

[1] This expression, says Mr Pinkerton, "is not clear, or rather it is nonsense: *that he would* forms neither grammar nor meaning." But *woude* is the preterite of the verb *to wade*; and "to wade *at*" signifies to wade with perseverance.

which strongly evinces that our ancestors were grossly addicted to prophane swearing. "To swear like a Scot," was once a proverbial expression. Douglas, a pious dignitary of the church, has not scrupled to deck his compositions with abundance of sounding oaths; which are generally introduced with the same significancy as appears in the perpetual and unmeaning ejaculations of the ancient classics [t]. No

[t] In the biography of the Greek philosophers, the oaths which they were pleased to adopt often constitute a subject of enquiry. Socrates is said to have imitated the Cretans, who swore by the fir, by the plane, and by the goose. (Porphyrius *De Abstinentia*, lib. iii. § 16. Philostratus *De Vita Apollonii Tyanæi*, p. 257. edit. Olearii.) This practice, as we learn from Hesychius and Suidas, was introduced by Rhadamanthus; who was solicitous that his countrymen should refrain from naming the Gods on trivial occasions. Socrates was perhaps actuated by the same principle; though some of the Christian fathers have endeavoured to represent his conduct as highly disgraceful. (Lactantii *Divinæ Institutiones*, lib. iii. § 19.) Zeno swore by the tree called κάπταρις. (Laërtius *De Vitis Philosophorum*, p. 456.) Nor was the common oath of the Pythagoreans less remarkable: they swore in a solemn manner by the founder of their sect; but, from a principle of modesty, refrained from naming him in direct terms, and only referred to him as the inventor of the *tetractys*. (Jamblichus *De Vita Pythagoræ*, p. 126. edit. Kusteri.)

Ναὶ μὰ τὸν ἀμετέρᾳ ψυχῇ παραδόντα τετρακτύν,
Παγὰν ἀενάου φύσεως. Aurea Carmina, v. 47.

Concerning this oath however several very learned writers have formed a different conjecture: they have supposed that the *tetractys* of the Pythagoreans was the identical *tetragrammaton* of the Hebrews, or that name of the supreme being which consists of three letters. (Selden. *De Diis Syriis*, lib. ii. cap. i. Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, chap. iv. § xx. Gale's *Court of the Gentiles*, p. ii. b. ii. c. viii.) According to this notion,

country, however barbarous or refined, has been found untainted with this irreverent practice: the propriety of appealing on solemn occasions to some superior power, has been universally acknowledged; and every usage of mankind, however pure in its original principles, is exposed to the speedy or slow approach of corruption.

The following little poem presents Dunbar in the character of a lover; a character which he has hardly assumed on any other occasion:

Sweit rois of vertew and of gentilnes,
Delyteum lyllie of everie lustynes,
Richest in bontie and in bewtie cleir,
And every vertew that [to hevin] is deir,
Except onlie that ye are mercyles;

Into your garthe this day I did persew:
Thair saw I flouris that fresche wer of hew;
Baythe quhyte and rid most lustye wer to seyne,
And halsum herbis upone stalkis grene:
Yet leif nor flour fynd could I nane of rew.

---

the passage now quoted must be explained in the following manner: "I swear by the *tetragrammaton*, or Jova, who has communicated himself, or the fountain of the eternal nature of the human soul." But the opinion of those writers has with evident propriety been rejected by Dr Thomas Burnet. (*Archæologiæ Philosophicæ*, p. 215.)

The subject of remarkable oaths has been treated by Alexander ab Alexandro (*Geniales Dies*, lib. v. cap. x.): and on consulting his work, the reader will be gratified with much curious information. But it is the perpetual fault of this writer that he neglects to indicate his authorities.

I doubte that Merche, with his cauld blastis keyne,
Hes slane this gentill herbe that I of mene;
Quhois petewus deithe dois to my hart sic pane,
That I wald vrak to plant his rute agane;
So confortand his leves unto me bene.

The lady to whom these stanzas are addrest may be Maestris Musgraeffe; whom he has elsewhere complimented in flattering terms.

His poem entitled *Lair is vane without Governance*, which was written at Oxford, possesses uncommon merit as a moral descant:

To speik of science, craft, or sapience,
Of vertew, moral cunning, or doctryne,
Of treuth, of wisdome, or intelligence,
Of everie studie, lair, or discyplyne;
All is bot tynt, or reddy for to tyne,
Not using it as it suld usit be,
The craift exercing, eschewing not the fyne.
A peralous seiknes is vaine prosperité.

The curious probation logical,
The eloquence of ornat rethorie,
The natural science filosophical,
The dirk aperance of astronomie,
The theolog's sermon, the fable of poetry,
Without guid lyf all in the salf dois dé,
As Mayis flours dois in September drye.
A peralous lyf is vaine prosperité,

Quhairfoir, ye clerkis grytest of constance,
Fullest of science and of knawleging,
To us be mirrors in your governance;

And in our chekes be knaps of seying:
Or thare in reine is all your lang lesing.
Gyf to your sawis your deidis contrair be,
Your mair accuse is your awin cunning.
A perilous seiknes is vaine prosperite.

Dunbar's *Meditatioun at Evintide in Aprile* is also to be classed among the finest of his moral poems. Several of the stanzas are beautiful and pathetic: and they will all be received with no common interest, as the solitary musings of neglected genius.

Lyis the dirk and drublie day,
Quhan sabill all the hevin arrayis,
Quhan nyctis vapours chaiss the skyis,
Nature all curage me denyis
To sangis, ballatis, and of playis.

Quhat thar the nycht mos lenthin hours,
Wyth wynd, wyth haill, and hevy schouris,
Me nok sweit nor lust to schout
Me hairt to langour nos to lout,
For lak of Sommer with his flouris.

I walk, I turne, I stem me I nocht:
I vaine am with hevie thocht
Me vaine al nycht I cair about,
And ay the mair I am in doun
The mair that I remeid have quhair.

I am assayit on everie syde.
Dispair sayis ay, " In tyme provyde,
  And get sum thing quhairon to leif;
Or with grit trouble and mischeif
Thou sall into this court abyde."

Than Patience sayis, " Be na agast:
Hald hoip and treuthe within thé fast;
  And lat Fortoun wirk furthe hir rage,
  Quhan that no rasoun may assuage,
Quhill that hir glas be run and past."

And Prudence in my eir says ay,
" Quhy wald you hald what will away?
  Or craif what yow may have no space
  [To bruik, as] to an uther place
A journay going every day?"

And than sayis Age, " My friend cum neir,
And be not strange, I thé requeir:
  Cum, brudir, by the hand me tak:
  Remember thow hes compt to mak
Of all the tyme thow spendis heir."

Syne Deid casts up his yettis wyd,
Saying, " Thir oppin sall ye byd;
  Albeid that yow wer never so stout:
  Undir this lyntall sall thow lout:
Thair is nane uther way besyd."

For feir of this all day I drowp;
No gold in kist, nor wyne in cowp,
  No ladeis bewtie nor luifis blis,
  May lat me to remember this,
How glaid that ever I dyne or sowp.

Yit quhan the nicht begynnis to schort,
It dois my spreit sum pairt confort,
Of thocht oppressit with the schouris.
Cum, lustie Symmer! with thi flouris,
That I may leif in sum disport.

But the most striking proof of Dunbar's genius occurs in his allegorical poems, entitled *The Thistle and the Rose*, and *The Goldin Terge*. In the present age however these fine productions are perhaps little relished: the reign of allegory is now past, and the wand of the enchanter is no longer wielded with powerful effect. But the disrepute into which this species of composition has lately fallen, may with some appearance of probability be ascribed to the enervation of the prevalent taste: an allegory, however skilfully conducted, can rarely secure the attention of a supine reader. Spenser himself is not only neglected, but even derided: and the exertions of Warton, a man of erudition, of taste, and of genius, have failed of restoring him to his original lustre. Allegorical composition may however afford a poet an excellent opportunity of exercising his powers of invention; and in various æras of our literary history it has been attempted with wonderful efficacy [u].

[u] Then come, ye Genii of the place! O come,
Ye wilde-wood Muses of the native lay!
Ye who these bancks did whilom constant roam,

As these two poems of Dunbar have been analysed by Mr Warton, it would now be a hopeless task to enter into a formal discussion of their peculiar merits. The object of *The Goldin Terge* is to demonstrate the general ascendency of love over reason: the golden targe, or the shield of reason, is found an insufficient protection against the assaults of the train of love. Sir David Lindsay seems to have regarded this as Dunbar's principal work: but *The Thistle and the Rose* is of equal or perhaps of superior merit. It was composed in honour of the nuptials of James the Fourth and Margaret Tudor: and the mode in which the poet has managed his theme, entitles him to the praise of original genius. In the plan of the work he displays boldness of invention and beauty of arrangement; and in several of its detached parts, the utmost strength and even delicacy of colouring. His descriptive powers, whether comic or serious, are of the first order.

It is not unusual with our early writers to exert all their energy in embellishing the opening of their poems, and yet to conclude them in a remiss and even frigid manner. From this practice Dunbar has not deviated: the commencement of these allegorical productions presents us with

> And round your Spenser ever gladsom play!
> Oh come once more, and with your magic ray
> These lawns transforming, raise the mystic scene.
>
> MICKLE,

descriptions highly luxuriant and poetical; but the close of the one is insipid enough, and that of the other is almost petrifying.

*The Goldin Terge* opens with the following beautiful stanzas:

Richt as the sterne of day began to schyne,
Quhen gone to bed was Vesper and Lucyne,
I raise and by a roseir did me rest:
Upsprang the goldin candill matutine,
With cleir depurit bemys chrystallyne
Glading the mirry fowlis in thair nest,
Or Phœbus wes in purpour kaip devest:
Upsprang the lark, the hevenis menstral syne
In May intill a morrow mirthfullest.

Full angelyk thir birdis sang thair houris
Within thair courtingis grene, within thair bouris,
Apperrellit with quhaitè and reid, with blumys sweit:
Ennamelit wes the feild with all the cullouris,
The perlit droppis schuke as in silver schouris;
Quhyle all in balme did branche and levis fleit,
Depairt fra Phœbus, did Aurora greit:
Hir cristall teiris I saw hing on the flouris,
Quhilk he for lufe all drank up with his heit.

For mirth of May, with skippis and with hoppis,
The birdis sang upon the tendir croppis,
With curious nottis, as Venus chapell-clarks.
The rosis reid, now spreiding of their knoppis,
Were powderit bricht with hevinly berial droppis,
Throw bemis reid lemying as ruby sparks:
The skyis rang with schouting of the larks;
The purpour hevin, owreskalit in silver *sloppis*,
Owregilt the treis, branchis, levis, and barks.

Down the thruch ryss ane revir ran with stremis
So lustely upoun the lykand lemis,
  That all the laik as lamp did leme of licht,
Quhilk shaddowit all about with twynkline glemis :
The bewis baithit war in secound bemis
  Throw the reflex of Phœbus visage bricht;
  On every syde the ege raise on hicht;
The bank wes grene, the son wes full of bemis,
  The streimeris cleir as sternis in frosty night.

The crystall air, the sapheir firmament,
The ruby skyis of the reid orient,
  Kest berial bemis on emerant bewis grene:
The rosy garth depaynt and redolent,
With purpour, asure, gold, and gowlis gent,
  Arrayit wes be Dame Flora the Quene
  Sa nobilly, that joy wes for to sene;
The roche agane the rever resplendent
  As low illuminate all the levis schene.

Quhat throw the mirry fowlis armony,
And throw the reviris sound that ran me by,
  On Florayis mantill I sleipit quhair I lay;
Quhair sone unto my dremis fantesy
I saw approche agane the orient sky,
  Ane saill, as blossom upon the spray,
  With mast of gold, bricht as the sterne of day;
Quhilk tendit to the land full lustely
  [With swiftest motion throu a crystal bay.]

The initial stanzas of *The Thistle and the Rose* are equally picturesque and beautiful:

Quhen Merche wes with variand windis past,
And Appryll had with hir silver shouris
Tane leif at Nature with ane orient blast,
And lusty May, that muddir is of flouris,
Had maid the birdis to begyn thair houris
Amang the tendir odouris reid and quhyt,
Quhois harmony to heir it wes delyt;

In bed at morrow sleiping as I lay,
Methocht Aurora with her cristall ene
In at the window lukit by the day,
And halsit me with visage paile and grene;
On quhois hand a lark sang fro the splene,
Awalk luvaris out of your slemering,
Se how the lusty morrow dois upspring.

Methocht fresche May befoir my bed upstude,
In weid depaynt of mony diverse hew,
Sober, benyng, and full of mansuetude,
In bright atteir of flouris forgit new,
Hevinly of color, quhyt, reid, brown, and blew,
Balmit in dew, and gilt with Phebus bemys;
Quhyl all the house illumynit of her lemys.

Slugart, scho said, awalk annone for schame,
And in my honor sumthing thow go wryt:
The lark hes done the mirry day proclame,
To rais up luvaris with comfort and delyt;
Yet nocht incress thy curage to indyt,
Quhois hairt sumtyme hes glaid and blissfull bene,
Sangis to mak undir the levis grene.

Another passage of this poem I cannot refrain from transcribing. It is the speech of Nature to the Rose, the emblem of the Scotish king.

Than callit scho all flouris that grew on feild,
  Discryving all thair fassiouns and effeirs:
Upon the awfull THRISSILL scho beheld,
  And saw him keipit with a busche of speiris:
  Considering him so able for the weiris,
A radius crown of rubies scho him gaif,
And said, In feild go furth, and fend the laif.

And sen thou art a king, be thou discreit;
  Herb without vertew thow hald nocht of sic pryce
As herb of vertew and of odor sweit;
  And lat no nettill vyle, and full of vyce,
  Hir fallow to the gudly flour-de-lyce;
Nor lat no wyld weid full of churlishness
Compair hir till the lilleis nobilness;

Nor hald no udir flour in sic denty
  As the fresche ROSE, of cullor reid and quhyt:
For gif thow dois, hurt is thyne honesty;
  Considdering that no flour is so perfyt,
  So full of vertew, plesans, and delyt,
So full of blissfull angelik bewty,
Imperial birth, honour, and dignité.

The specimens which have now been exhibited ill, I trust, be sufficient to evince that the talents f Dunbar were of no vulgar denomination. Some f these passages are perhaps superior to any milar descriptions which occur in the numerous ritings of Chaucer; whose merits Dunbar seems o have appreciated with proper discrimination. he encomium on Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, hich he has inserted in *The Goldin Terge*, must

not here be overlooked, as it serves to indicate the direction of his poetical studies:

O reverend Chauser, rose of rethouris all,
As in oure toung ane flour imperial;
That raise in Brittane evir, quha reidis richt,
Thou beiris of makars the triumphs royall,
The fresche ennamallit termes celestiall;
This mater couth haif illuminit full bricht.
Was thou nocht of our Inglis all the licht,
Surmounting every toung terrestriall,
As far as Mayis morrow dois midnycht?

O morale Goweir, and Lidgait laureat,
Your suggarat toungis, and lippis aureat,
Bene till our eiris cause of grit delyte:
Your angelic mouth most mellifluat
Our rude language hes cleir illumynat,
And hes ourgilt our spèiche, that imperfyte
Stude, or your goldin pennis schup to wryt:
This yle befoir wes bair and dissolat
Of rethorik or lusty fresche indyte.

In the preceding estimate of the intellectual character of William Dunbar, it may perhaps be averred that I have scattered praise with too liberal a hand. The following testimonies will serve to confirm the opinions which I have presumed to advance.

Mr Ellis, a writer of correct and elegant taste, has remarked that "his style, whether grave or humorous, whether simple or ornamented, is always energetic; and though all his compositions

cannot be expected to possess equal merit, we seldom find in them, a weak or redundant stanza[v]."

"I am of opinion," says Mr Warton, "that the imagination of Dunbar is not less suited to satirical than to sublime allegory; and that he is the first poet who has appeared with any degree of spirit in this way of writing since Pierce Plowman. His *Thistle and Rose* and *Golden Terge*, are generally and justly mentioned as his capital works: but the natural complexion of his genius is of the moral and didactic cast[w]." "But this remark," subjoins Mr Pinkerton, "must not be taken too strictly. The *Goldin Terge* is moral; and so are many of his small pieces: but humour, description, allegory, and a vast wealth of words, all unite to form the complexion of Dunbar's poetry. He unites in himself, and generally surpasses, the qualities of the chief old English poets; the morals and satire of Langland; Chaucer's humour, poetry, and knowledge of life; the allegory of Gower; the description of Lydgate[x]."

Poetical encomiums on the genius of Dunbar might also be collected. Dr Langhorne's commendation is concise and judicious:

> In nervous strains Dunbar's bold music flows,
> And time yet spares the Thistle and the Rose.

[v] Ellis, Hist. Sketch of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 380.
[w] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 278.
[x] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. xciv.

George Dyer, another ingenious poet, has likewise paid an elegant tribute to his excellence:

Where now Dunbar? The bard has run his race:
But glitters still the Golden Terge on high;
Nor shall the thunder storm that sweeps the sky,
'Mid its wide waste the glorious orb deface.

The poems of Dunbar seem to have been redd and admired by his illustrious countryman Buchanan: and this may be selected as the most splendid circumstance connected with the history of his writings. Buchanan's *Somnium* is undoubtedly an imitation of the stanzas entitled *How Dunbar wes desyred to be ane Frier.* The two poems are modeled according to the same plan: and the finest epigrammatic turn in that of Buchanan is borrowed from his predecessor:

In haly legendis have I hard allevin
Ma sanctis of bischoppis, nor freiris, be sic sevin:
Of full few freiris that has bene sanctis I reid:
Quhairfoir ga bring to me ane bischopis weid,
Gife evir thow wald my saule gaid unto hevin.

DUNBAR.

Mentior, aut peragra saxo fundata vetusto
Delubra, et titulos per simulacra lege:
Multus honoratis fulgebit episcopus aris,
Rara cucullato sternitur ara gregi.

Atque inter monachos erit hæc rarissima vestis:
Induat hanc, si quis gaudeat esse miser.
Quòd si tanta meæ tangit te cura salutis,
Vis mihi, vis animæ consuluisse meæ?
Quilibet hac alius mendicet veste superbus:
At mihi da mitram, purpureamque togam.

BUCHANAN.

# *INTERMEDIATE SKETCHES.*

THE number of Scotish poets whose names have been recorded, is sufficient to inspire us with a high opinion of the national passion for elegant literature. In these colder and more barren regions, poetry seems less congenial to the mind: and we therefore are not authorized to expect the same fertility of fancy as distinguishes happier climates. At Oxford, as Sir William Jones informs us, there is a MS. containing the lives of an hundred and thirty-five of the finest Persian poets: and a collection of the select works of five hundred and forty-nine Turkish poets was published at Constantinople about the beginning of the seventeenth century[a]. Of such literary exuberance Scotland cannot indeed boast; but the number of her ancient poets must be regarded as comparatively ample.

[a] Jones's Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations.

About the age of Dunbar, flourished many poets whose compositions are almost entirely lost.

WALTER KENNEDY seems to be represented by Douglas and Lindsay as one of the chief of the Scotish poets. From *The Flyting* he appears to have been a native of the district formerly known by the name of Carrick. During his altercation with Dunbar, he takes occasion to remind his antagonist of his own "land, store, and stakkis." The following quotation also contains biographical hints:

I am the king's blude, his trew and special clerk,
That nevir zit ymaginit his offence;
Constant in myn allegiance, word, and wark,
Only dependand on his excellence;
Traistand to have of his magnificence,
Gwerdoun, reward, and benefice bedene.

Unfortunately his works have all perished, except his *Flyting*[b], his *Invective against Mouthankless*[c] and his *Prais of Aige*[d]. The latter of these is written in a more pious strain than Dunbar's delineation of the author's character would lead us to expect. "This poem," says Lord Hailes, "gives a favourable idea of Kennedy as a versifier. His lines are more polished than those of his cotemporaries. If he is the person

[b] Ramsay, vol. ii. p. 48. [c] Ramsay, vol. i. p. 115.
[d] Hailes, p. 189.

against whom Dunbar directed his Invective, he has met with hard measure."

QUINTIN SHAW is also mentioned by Douglas and Lindsay as a poet of eminence. Kennedy styles "him his cousin Quintene and his commissar." He was probably a native of the same district. One of his poems, entitled *Advyce to a Courtier*, has lately been published[e], and no other is known to be extant.

MERCER is commemorated in Dunbar's *Lament* as a poet of peculiar merit:

> He hes reft Mersar his indyte,
> That did in luve so lyfly wryte,
> So schort, so quick, of sentens hie.

One of his poems, entitled *Perrell in Paramours*, has been preserved[f]; but it is an effort too inconsiderable to enable us to estimate his literary character.

PATRICK JOHNSTON, according to Bannatyne, is the author of a short but curious poem entitled *The thre Deid Powis*[g], or the three death's heads. These *powis* deliver lessons of morality in such strains as the following:

[e] Maitland Poems, vol. i. p. 133.
[f] Hailes, p. 156.
[g] Hailes, p. 139.

O sinfull man! into this mortall se
  Quhilk is the vaill of mournyng and of cair,
With gaistly sicht behold our heidis thre,
  Oure holkit eine, oure peilit powis bair.
  As ye ar now, into this warld we wair,
Als fresche, als fair, als lusty to behald:
  Quhen thow lukis on this suth exemplair
Off thy self, man, thow may be richt unbald.——

O wantone yowth! als fresche as lusty May,
  Farest of flowris, renewit quhyt and reid,
Behald our heidis, O lusty gallands gay!
  Full laithly thus sall ly thy lusty heid,
  Holkit and how, and wallowit as the weid:
Thy crampland hair, and eik thy cristall ene,
  Full cairfully conclud sall dulefull Deid:
Thy example heir be us it may be sene.

O ladeis quhyt in claithis corruscant,
  Poleist with perle and mony pretius stane;
With palpis quhyt and 'halsis' elegant,
  Sirculit with gold and sapheris mony ane;
  Your fingearis small, quhyt as quhailis bane,
Arrayit with ringis, and mony rubeis reid;
  As we ly thus, so sall ye ly ilk ane,
With peilit powis, and holkit thus your heid.

CLAPPERTON is the author of a pretty song entitled *Wa worth Maryage*[h]! This song, says Mr Pinkerton, is possest of the most exquisite neatness and simplicity. The author's history is totally unknown: but from the language and

[h] Maitland Poems, vol. i. p. 135.

style of this production, we may conjecture that he was cotemporary with Dunbar.

DAVID STEEL, who styles himself a dean, is frequently mentioned, though not in terms of the highest respect, as the writer of a poem known by the title of *The Ring of the Roy Robert*. A copy of it is to be found in the Maitland MSS. at Cambridge. It has been unfaithfully printed in Watson's *Choice Collection of Scots Poems*; and is of little or no value.

THE exquisite poem entitled *The Murning Maidin*[i] seems, from internal evidence, to have been composed during the age of Dunbar. The first verse of it is quoted by Wedderburn, whose *Complaynt of Scotland* was published in the year 1549[j]. "This piece, for the age it was written," observes Mr Pinkerton, "is almost miraculous. The tender pathos is finely recommended by an excellent cadence. An age that produced this might produce almost any perfection in poetry."

AN unpublished poem, entitled *Duncan Laider, or Macgregor's Testament*, was communicated by Mr Pennant to the admirable historian of English poetry; who represents it as containing strokes

i Maitland Poems, vol. ii. p. 205.

j Wedderburn's Complaynt of Scotland, p. 100.

of satirical humour not inferior to those of Dunbar and Lindsay[k]. The date of its composition is uncertain. The poet mentions the death of James the Fourth, who was slain in the year 1513. The object of his satire is to expose the ruinous policy, and general corruption of public manners, which prevailed, probably during the minority of James the Fifth, in the kingdom of Scotland.

THE following poets, mentioned in Dunbar's *Lament*, may be supposed to have flourished between the year 1400 and the year 1520: Sir Hugh of Eglintoun, Ettrick, Heriot, John Clerk, James Affleck, Sir Mungo Lockhart of Lee, Sir Gilbert Hay, Alexander Trail, Rowl of Aberdeen, Rowl of Corstorphine, Brown, Stobo, and Sir John Ross. A poem by one of the Rowls, another by Walter Brown, and two by one Clerk, have been preserved by Bannatyne. The works of those other poets, it is to be feared, are irretrievably lost.

[k] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 326.

*END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.*

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